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ABSTRACT

This report claims that an attack has been waged on environmental education to derail the re-authorization of the National Environmental Education Act and to de-stabilize and de-fund environmental education in the United States. Presented in the media as a grassroots movement, stories have appeared in local, state, and national media that illustrate that environmental education has gone too far, is full of one-sided arguments and outright lies, and asks students to become activists. Conservative think tanks, foundations, and fundamental religious groups such as the Heritage Foundation, the George C. Marshall Institute, the Political Economy Research Center and the Competitive Enterprise Institute have been found at the end of the public relations ploy of stories of students "brainwashed" by environmental education, simulating grassroots activity. Investigation into these groups shows that they are funded by corporate polluters like Amoco, Dow Chemical, and Shell. The report is divided into four parts: (1) "Astroturf: the stories behind the attack on environmental education"; (2) "The Anti-Environmental Backlash: individuals and organizations linked to the attacks on environmental education"; (3) "Greenwashing," examples of educational materials produced by corporate funders of the attack; and (4) "Campaign Finance," which looks at the financing of some of the nationally elected officials who are responsible for funding environmental education. (SJR)

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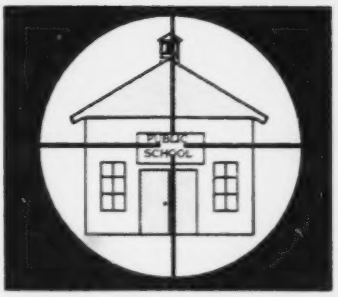

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Endangered Education:

How Corporate Polluters are Attacking Environmental Education

A second report on greenwashing in schools
from the *Consumers or Citizens?* project of
The Center for Commercial-Free Public Education

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"How long will they kill our prophets while we stand aside and look?" —Bob Marley

For Ken Saro-Wiwa

Endangered Education:

How Corporate Polluters are Attacking Environmental Education

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Executive Summary

"Mr. President, if you ignore this letter, we will all die of pollution and the ozone layer."

"Mom, they killed trees to make my bed."

These quotes are from a group of stories being used to illustrate what is wrong with environmental education. These stories are appearing in local, state, and national media outlets. Their message is that environmental education has gone too far, is full of one-sided arguments and outright lies, and asks students to become activists. They claim a broad grassroots movement of parents is concerned about what their children are learning about the environment in school.

Endangered Education is an investigation into these stories, who told them, and why. Our investigation finds that these stories are part of a sophisticated media effort aimed at stopping environmental education at the state and federal levels. This effort is being funded by corporate polluters with a vested interest in overturning environmental education.

Endangered Education's research shows that the attack on environmental education is not a grassroots movement, but the work of small group of individuals perpetrating an "Astroturf" effort, i.e., a public relations ploy simulating grassroots activity. After researching the affiliations of the individuals involved in the attack, this report finds ties to radically conservative think tanks, conservative foundations, and the fundamental religious right. These interrelated groups—including the Heritage Foundation, the George C. Marshall Institute, the Political Economy Research Center, and the Competitive Enterprise Institute—have one important thing in common: they are all funded by corporate polluters such as Amoco, Dow Chemical, and Shell.

Endangered Education argues that the real agenda behind their attack, or the so-called "reform," of environmental education, is to build enough key media coverage to derail the re-authorization of the National Environmental Education Act, and ultimately to de-stabilize and de-fund environmental education in the United States.

The groups engaging in the attack on environmental education and their financial supporters have a common goal: to protect polluters from the potentially damaging influence of citizen awareness. If we want to equip young people to understand and help solve the complex issues of our society, we must encourage and support high-quality environmental education, not the corporate-fueled version that the polluting industries and environmental education critics would prefer.

"Endangered Education" contains four sections:

- Part 1, "Astroturf: the stories behind the attack on environmental education," examines the creation of the media stories being used to attack environmental education.
- Part 2, "The Anti-Environmental Backlash: individuals and organizations linked to the attacks on environmental education," offers a comprehensive list of those involved in the attacks, profiles the key figures, and traces the funding of the individuals and organizations involved back to the same corporations guilty of greenwashing in the classroom.
- Part 3, "Greenwashing," gives examples of greenwashing materials produced by the corporate funders of the attacks.
- Part 4, "Campaign Finance," looks at the campaign financing of some of the nationally elected officials who are responsible for funding environmental education programs under the National Environmental Education Act in the coming year.

Part 1.
Astroturf: the stories behind the attack on environmental education

Looking at the many media clips on the attack on environmental education, it is easy to conclude that it is a widely controversial issue. In fact, the controversy is the product of a small group of individuals with extensive knowledge of how to utilize the media. Controversy generates coverage, but it does not accurately portray what is actually happening in environmental education.

Analyzing the origin of these stories, it becomes clear that the attack against environmental education is "Astroturf"—a controversy that has been created for the media to look like grassroots opposition.

- **The student's story: "Mr. President, if you ignore this letter, we will all die of pollution and the ozone layer."** Perhaps the worst example of distortion occurs in the telling of the story of a 9-year-old student who wrote a letter to President Bush asking him to save the ozone layer. Cited by *The Washington Times* and by a National Public Radio correspondent, this story is used to illustrate how students are overburdened by environmental information they are learning in school and how they are over-reacting and distorting the facts. This student is used as an example of what is *wrong* with environmental education. The facts. the student, Melissa Poe—who is now

17, not 9—learned about the ozone layer from a television program, not in school. She also went on to found an environmental group that is now 300,000 strong, with members in 20 countries. She has won numerous environmental awards and was invited by President Clinton to the White House last year as an environmental leader.

- **The parent's story: "Mom, they killed trees to make my bed."** Michael Sanera, Jane Shaw, and other vocal critics of environmental education like to tell the story of Nancy Bray Cardozo, whose six year-old daughter's concerns about the trees that died to make her maple bed prompted Cardozo to write an article for *Audubon Magazine*. The story: the critics claim that even environmental magazines are reporting on the egregious incidents happening under the guise of environmental education. The facts: when we interviewed Ms. Cardozo, she was completely unaware—and dismayed—that her story had been adopted as an example of what's wrong with environmental education. It appears the "objective" critics have once again distorted events and the intentions behind them.

- **Arizona's "rainforest test":** In Arizona, negative media attention has been alarmingly effective in undermining environmental education. At the state level, in 1995, the legislature overturned a 1990 law requiring and providing funding for environmental education in public schools statewide. Two stories are behind the legislation's action in Arizona. The first story: students were given a test that was unfairly biased toward an environmentalist perspective. When students complained to their parents, 26 parents' groups around the state spontaneously formed to protest the exam and then to question all environmental education. The second story: a group of students wrote letters to the editor protesting desert development. These students were not informed of all sides of the issue, which led to their emotional conclusions.

  The facts: When we checked into the authenticity of the first story, sources involved in the Department of Education's committee on environmental education say there were almost no complaints received about the test at the time, and in fact, there really was no "rainforest test." Sources say that there was only a single question about the rainforest on a statewide writing test and found it hard to believe that students, after taking a lengthy test, went home and complained to their parents about its environmental bias. In the second story, the facts were that students who were studying nature in their school yard had a difficult time when the plants they were studying—including the protected saguaro cactus—were razed by a developer

overnight. Teachers trying to help them cope did present both sides of the picture and were overwhelmingly supported by their tight-knit community.

The actual events that persuaded the legislature to reverse the requirement and funding for environmental education do not lead back to these stories, but rather to several individuals with an anti-environmental agenda. These include Michael Sanera, who was formerly an adjunct scholar at the Heritage Foundation and professor of political science and is currently the director of the Center for Environmental Education Research, a division of the Claremont Institute, which is funded by such conservative groups as the Sarah Scaife Foundation and the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation.

- **The national campaign: fear, not facts.** Sanera is also one of the foremost voices of criticism on the national level. He is co-author, along with Jane Shaw, of *Facts, not Fear: A Parent's Guide to Teaching Children About the Environment.* The story: this recently published book claims to provide parents with a "balanced view" to "counter the irresponsible claims of environmental extremists."[1] A panel of 32 "respected scholars" reviewed each issue-specific chapter to certify that the information presented represents current scientific understanding of the issue.[2] However, this supposed bastion of objectivity does not quite live up to the authors' claims. The facts: both the authors and many on the "expert" panel have a recorded history of strong, anti-environmental opinions on many of these issues. Many also have links to right-wing think tanks and corporate polluters.

Why tell all these stories of a fake grassroots movement? Critics of environmental education hope that by building up media coverage of the supposed environmental education controversy and its presence in communities around the country, they will convince local, state, and national policy-makers that a grassroots movement against environmental education exists. In fact, this is not the case. The stories have been uniformly twisted to present the critics' point of view—an inaccurate picture of environmental education as a whole.

Part 2.
The Anti-Environmental Backlash: individuals and organizations linked to the attacks on environmental education

After 25 years of persistent environmental activism, ecological concerns are a mainstream issue. In a recent survey, 74 percent of Americans described themselves as either "sympathetic to environmental concerns" or an "active environmentalist."[3] Clearly, a

majority of Americans are concerned about the environment, and increasingly, environmental literacy—i.e., an understanding of the natural world, of humanity as *part of* the natural world, and of the environmental issues and questions facing society—is seen as an important component of education.

The United States affirmed this belief in 1990 when Congress passed the National Environmental Education Act (NEEA). This act "charged [the Environmental Protection Agency] with the responsibility for coordinating federal environmental education initiatives and for providing leadership at the national level to the public and private sectors."[4] Senator John H. Chafee (R-Rhode Island), who helped author this legislation, wrote, "The aim is clear: to bring environmental education into the classroom and the community. Environmental education and science are not only for the professional in the field or laboratory, but for all of us."[5]

These strides have generated a funding backlash on environmental education as it is just beginning to be implemented. This section of the report—after researching and tracking this attack for close to a year—charts who is behind the backlash effort, their inter-relations, and their funding.

Part 3.
Greenwashing: examples of educational materials produced by corporate funders of the attacks on environmental education

In the United States, marketing perception holds equal importance with actual environmental standards. The act of changing your perception rather than your practice was first termed "greenwashing" by writer Kenny Bruno and producer Peter Dykstra. In the case of environmental education, greenwashing has risen to new levels. Polluters inundate classrooms with inaccurate, low-quality environmental education materials, while simultaneously funding organizations involved in attacking environmental education. Ironically, attackers of environmental education claim that they are working against biased and one-sided educational materials, while their funders distribute material that are blatant public relations efforts. For example, Shell's classroom video, "Fueling America's Future," teaches students that the way to understand and return to nature is through driving there in one's Jeep and stopping to refuel at a Shell station.

Part 4.
Campaign Finance

To illustrate how money may impact decision-making, we've also taken a look forward by researching the Congressional Committee with the power to block the reauthorization of

the National Environmental Education Act. We provide a list of the total amount of PAC (political action committee) contributions the groups involved in the attack against environmental education have given to Committee members.

Conclusion

The critics of environmental education make up a small group of individuals—with a fiscally and politically anti-environmental agenda—that is using the media to misrepresent what is happening in classrooms where environmental education is taught. This group does not represent the general sentiments of the American public. Public opinion surveys show that the public is concerned about the environment and thinks environmental education is important.

Environmental education is not, as it is sometimes portrayed, the tool of special interests who are out to manipulate children's minds. Environmental education combines quantitative and scientific skills, language and communications skills, and an understanding of politics, economics, and sociology. Therefore, "it can help students meet the high standards set by the traditional school disciplines" by providing "an often missed opportunity for synthesis of material that crosses disciplinary boundaries."[6] Environmental education should be seen as a method for making traditional disciplines more engaging, rather than as something that takes time away from teaching the important basics.

It is important to put the attacks on environmental education in the context of growing efforts to limit the freedom of teachers and control the content of their lessons and what happens in their classrooms. In our research and in the activities of The Center, we find that parent involvement with teachers is welcomed and integral to successful education. Attackers of environmental education are assaulting education as a whole by making it seem that teachers and schools can not be trusted because they will turn students into "green-eyed monsters." As the true stories behind *Endangered Education* show, students learn best when supported and engaged with their communities. To attack teachers as general purveyors of biased information or an agenda is untrue. Moreover, such accusations breed distrust and distract communities from coming together for the most important mission—educating our children for the future.

---

[1] Michael Sanera and Jane Shaw, *Facts, not Fear: A Parent's Guide to Teaching Children About the Environment*, Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 1996, quotation from back cover.
[2] Sanera and Shaw, *Facts, not Fear*, xiii.
[3] "Report Card: Environmental Attitudes and Knowledge in America," prepared for the National Environmental Education and Training Foundation, December 1996, 23.
[4] Diane Berger, "EPA's Environmental Education Program," *EPA Journal* (on-line journal), Spring 1995. Available: Netscape: http://www.epa.gov/docs/epajrnal/spring95/03a.txt.html.

[5] John H. Chafee, "Preparing for the Next Century: Public Understanding is Critical," *EPA Journal* (on-line journal), Spring 1995. Available: Netscape: http://www.epa.gov/docs/epajrnal/spring95/03a.txt.html.
[6] Bora Simmons, "How Can Environmental Education Support Education Reform," *Environmental Communicator* May/June 1995, 12.

Part 1.

Astroturf: The Stories Behind the Attack on Environmental Education

Part 1.
Astroturf: The Stories Behind the Attack on Environmental Education

The universe is made
not of atoms
but of stories. —Muriel Rukeyser

Historically, beliefs have served to justify specific rules of conduct. Fallibility ought to foster a different attitude. Beliefs ought to serve to shape our lives, not to make us abide by a given set of rules. If we recognize that our beliefs are expressions of our choices, not of ultimate truth, we are more likely to tolerate other beliefs and to revise our own in the light of our experiences. But that is not how most people treat their beliefs. They tend to identify their beliefs with ultimate truth. —George Soros in *The Atlantic Monthly*

In a media age, the search for public understanding and truth is partly about what stories are told in the media and the resulting perceptions of events. In the case of the attack on environmental education, it is useful to revisit some of the stories told in the media and in public, and to ask what and who are behind these stories. The case of the attack on environmental education also offers instruction in how stories make it into the national media in the information age. Through national search services, the Internet, small magazines, and press at a local level, stories today are picked up or reprinted by national media outlets. This offers opportunities and challenges. The opportunity is that by watching local media, national press can track grassroots opinion. The challenge is to find the original source of these opinions and to contextualize them. Many organizations, adept at using media and public forums, can now create what looks like a grassroots sentiment by busing a few vocal people to a public hearing, placing stories in local/state-based media and then using that local coverage to claim that a group of people "out there in the grassroots" is moved by a particular issue. These same organizations may also have the ability to place their own op-eds and stories within the national media, thus controlling the full circle of creating public mythology.

In the case of environmental education, several stories have traveled the road from local to national coverage. These stories, such as "Mr. President, If you ignore this letter, we will all die of pollution and the ozone layer," and "They killed trees to make my bed," are personal stories told about or by students. The examples of "The rainforest test" and "letters to the editor about developing the desert" were stories used in a staged battle to overturn the statewide environmental education requirement in Arizona and to reroute the revenues generated by environmental license plates from environmental education to farmers and ranchers.

While all of these stories contain a modicum of truth, their context, the characters involved, and the larger issue of how environmental education is being taught in our schools have been

left out or distorted. Most importantly, in all cases, the distorted stories *falsely imply* that significant grassroots outrage against environmental education exists in communities where these stories occurred. In several cases, the opposite is true: the stories in their original form lead back to individuals and communities who support both environmental education and increased federal funding for statewide programs.

In looking at these and future stories, it is our hope that journalists and the public will place them in a context that includes consideration of the following questions:

- What do the majority of Americans believe about the environment and environmental education?
- In how many places is environmental education taught? In how many schools? What do these programs look like?
- Most importantly, how did these stories come to represent environmental education? Who is behind their telling and retelling, and what does their funding base tell us about the agenda?

The Arizona case is of particular importance because it led to similar efforts to slash state funding for environmental education in California, Florida, North Carolina, and Wisconsin.[1] Clearly, as one Arizona resident who was involved in the birth of Arizona's environmental education program put it, "The question of whether or not this is a problem is answered by what happens to the students."[2] Are the students benefiting from environmental education over the long-run?

The attackers of environmental education—without longitudinal evidence—are claiming that students are being harmed by their education. Their claims are based on small anecdotes. In reality, a broader look at the examples indicates that environmental education seems to create active, engaged citizens interested in their future.

The purveyors of the stories attacking environmental education have created an Astroturf trail from Arizona to Washington, DC. It is a media trail that is being used for political gain of a well-funded agenda. Behind this "Astroturf," however, are real people with stories of their own.

"Mr. President, if you ignore this letter, we will all die of pollution and the ozone layer."

> These days, facts frequently take a back seat in the environmental education our children receive at school. Too often, environmental instruction seems to aim--not at a disinterested search for the truth--but at convincing children that "the planet" is in imminent danger, and they must save it.
>
> Young people exposed to environmental education of this sort often view the future with consternation. One 9-year-old caught the sense of alarm in a letter to George Bush. "Mr. President," she wrote, "if you ignore this letter, we will all die of pollution and the ozone layer."

This story was most recently printed in the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* on February 27, 1997. The article was written by Katherine Kersten, a commentator for National Public Radio and chair of the Center of the American Experiment. The same story of a nine-year-old's letter to President Bush also appeared in *The Las Vegas Review Journal*, *The Washington Times*, and in *Facts Not Fear: A Parent's Guide to Teaching Children About the Environment*. It is a story used to show what is wrong with environmental education.

The truth behind the story: Melissa Poe and KIDSFACE

Who is this nine-year-old? Why did she write this letter to President Bush, and why—in 1997—is her story still being told? She is Melissa Poe, and she is now age 17. According to her mother, Trish Poe, Melissa wrote to President Bush when she was nine because of a television program she saw.[3] On an episode of the TV show "Highway to Heaven," the story-line warned that our air and water could become so polluted that people might die. The show ended, however, on a note of hope, with the lead character saying that actions would be taken to save the environment by people who care.[4] Thus, even the idea that Melissa Poe learned about the ozone layer in school through environmental education is false. But the show did move Melissa to write a letter to then-President Bush. "She believed someone as important as the President needed to be involved to solve the problem," Trish Poe remembers.[5]

Melissa waited several months for a reply from the White House. In the meantime, she started calling people, sharing her letter to the President and her concern and trying to spread the word about pollution. She took her letter and, through persistence, convinced a local billboard company to place it—for free—on a Nashville billboard. Still the President didn't respond. She decided that he needed to be able to see the billboard and tried to have her letter placed on another billboard in Washington, DC. Eventually, it was placed—with her address —on 250 billboards around the country.

Melissa finally did hear from President Bush, only he sent her a letter telling her to stay off drugs. "Wrong form letter," laughs Trish Poe now. But people who saw Melissa's address

on the billboards wrote to her, and along with six of her friends, Melissa started KIDSFACE: Kids For A Clean Environment. Today, KIDSFACE has 300,000 members in 22 countries and a bi-monthly newsletter with a print run of 2 million.[6] Melissa has won a Windstar Youth Award and a National Service Award, and was invited to the White House last year by President Clinton as an environmental leader. She thinks she might want become President someday, or else an environmental consultant.

As we look at the attack on environmental education, and in the information age in general, the words of Melissa's mother are important to remember: "She became involved and was able to make an educated judgment about where information was coming from and whether it was right or wrong *because* of her involvement. She gained more worldly knowledge and information through her concern for the environment. She learned to look at information and see where it was coming from, what perspective they had."

"They killed trees to make my bed"

"They killed trees to make my bed," said a sad six-year-old. The child's comment led her mother, Nancy Bray Cardozo, to take a second look at what her child was being taught."[7]

Michael Sanera and Jane Shaw use this quote in their opinion piece entitled "The ABCs of Environmental Myths," which appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* on September 4, 1996. They are citing an article that appeared in the January-February 1994 issue of *Audubon*, in which Cardozo asserts that television and other sources are showing children a story without history, when they need to understand what got us where we are today. Sanera and Shaw use this story to claim that environmental education is one-sided and biased and that "a cadre of environmental activists" is pushing the National Environmental Education Act. "At a time when basic education is failing in our schools, do we need federal support to perpetuate this kind of 'education'?" they ask in the article.

The truth behind the story: an interview with Nancy Bray Cardozo

"They killed trees to make my bed." Since this quote appeared in Cardozo's article in *Audubon*, it has been used by Sanera and Shaw in their *Wall Street Journal* op-ed piece and in their book, *Facts, not Fear*. It can also be found in Chuck Colson's Prison Ministry newsletter, "Breakpoint," and in an article by Jane Shaw hot-linked to the Alliance for America web site, according to research done by the Clearinghouse for Environmental Advocacy and Research.[8]

In all instances other than in its original context, the quote is meant to show why environmental education should be dismantled. Although neither Sanera nor Shaw ever

interviewed Cardozo, they use her quote out of context to uphold their own belief that the 1990 National Environmental Education Act should not be re-authorized.

Was this the original intent of her article? Does Cardozo feel that her child learned inappropriate material in school? Is she aware that her daughter's words are being used as an example of the failure of environmental education? In a recent interview, Cardozo expressed shock and dismay that her article was being used to attack federal funding for environmental education while she, in fact, supports it.

Sanera and Shaw challenge, "At a time when basic education is failing in our schools, do we need federal support to perpetuate [environmental education]?"[9] Nancy Cardozo responds, "Even bad environmental education is better than no environmental education; this is a work in progress. I never suggested backing down from teaching kids about what is happening in our environment. But we should go beyond just saying that it is bad and show the whole picture."[10]

In fact, the only environmental education material with which Cardozo found fault was sponsored by Weyerhaeuser Company. Weyerhaeuser is an international forest products company whose principal business is the harvesting of trees and the manufacture, distribution and sale of forest products. It is also a funder of the attack on environmental education through support of groups such as Resources for the Future and the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy. (See Part 2 of this report, which examines these groups.) Weyerhaeuser's sponsored environmental education materials for schools are an example of greenwashing. Cardozo described Weyerhaeuser's curriculum materials as "a wise-use manifesto" whose one-sided perspective on resource management leaves little room for kids to form their own opinions.[11]

When questioned about whether she thought environmental education should be taken out of schools, Cardozo emphatically replied, "No. In fact it should be expanded." According to Cardozo, we cannot discount that environmental degradation is occurring. But she added that students should first learn the principles behind the degradation, and by understanding the principles, Cardozo hopes that children can then discover ways in which to mitigate or completely avoid environmental catastrophe.[12]

Her actual intention in writing the article for *Audubon* can be summed up in her own words:

> If we're going to throw all this loss at our children—vanishing rainforests, ozone holes, ruined waterways—we should also be explaining how things got this way... Children feel that their generation is fighting against ours for the future. They wonder how we could have let this happen. We have to tell them why scenes of belching smokestacks used to be movie shorthand for good times. They need to see that it was a combination of optimism and ignorance

that got us where we are today. I hope these children grow up and change the way things are done.[13]

Overturning Environmental Education in Arizona: The Rainforest Action Network test and the student letters to the editor about developing the desert

The story of the Rainforest Action Network test was told by John Parrish, parent, and Michael Sanera in a presentation at the annual conference of the North American Association for Environmental Education (NAAEE) in Burlingame, CA, in November 1996. What follows is a verbatim transcript of the telling of the story:

(Note: The audience members asking the questions did not identify themselves.)

John: *...the first ASAT Test that was written was a very interesting test. It was in fact written by the Rainforest Action Network.* It included references throughout the test to the Rainforest Action Network. It included things like requests in there for students to write letters, it would give them something that was written by the Rainforest Action Network about rain forests and then it would ask the student to write a letter that would go to the congressman or the newspaper. So this was a, primarily for those of you who are academicians, this was an essay-style test, it was rubric-graded. There was nothing to benchmark it to any place else. So there were lots of things that parents might have gotten upset about, possibly. But, what really got parents upset was the content.

Question: *Are you saying that they wrote a portion of the test that had to do with environmental education or they wrote the whole test?*

John: *The entire test.*

Question: For what academic period, science?

John: It was an integrated test, using supposedly the integrated curriculum and you would, a question would require you to have knowledge of math and of science and of English. There were no questions specifically that asked you whether you could multiply two times two and get four; there were no questions specifically that ask you to identify what the scientific method was and how we would use that in determining things.

Question: What grade level was this for, the test you're referring to?

John: This one was an eleventh grade test. And similar tests, the one I'm most familiar with was the eleventh grade test—my son was an eleventh grader at the time. There were similar tests for lower grade levels that tended to be more age-appropriate as you would expect.

More discussion occurs about the test—exactly how it was given and who gave it—in response to questions for clarifications from the audience.

John: But what is more important here is not what the content of the test was or how it came about, but what I'm trying to tell you about is what happened because of this test. Because of this test, you had sort of a, it was a little bit like rain sweeping across the desert - all of a sudden, grass and green things start to sprout every place and they start to bloom. In virtually every community in the state, one parent or another would, their child would come home and would tell them, "You wouldn't believe this test that we had in school today." And the parent would say, "Well, tell me about the test, Johnny." And Johnny would say, "Well, they had this great big long diatribe about how terrible it was to irrigate the desert, and then they wanted us to write an essay telling how terrible it was to irrigate the desert." My son came home with that one. I contacted some other parents that I knew who were active in their children's education. And what happened was groups were formed across the state. One group formed in Mesa, there were probably 7 or

8 or 9 or 10 groups that formed in the Phoenix area, there were several formed in Tucson, one in Yuma, one in Flaggstaff, one in Kingman. What happened was we would start talking with our friends and neighbors when we were at work and we would find out that there was another group in another city. We'd contact that group and we'd find out that they were in contact with other groups in other cities. *We eventually wound up with a network with 26 parent groups that formed spontaneously in response to the ASAT test.* These parent groups, independently, conducted research of the sort that they were allowed to do, i.e., they went and they asked for copies of the test. For about the first two days parents were able to get copies of the test. Thereafter, they were told that they could look at the test. After about 3 days of looking at the test, parents were told they were no longer [allowed to] have any access to the test, they weren't allowed to look at it, in other words, the cover-up is on—this is from the parents' viewpoint. I am very suspicious when behavior like that is observed, as you might be if you were a parent, and in the situation. And it led to, I would guess you would say, an awakening of the parents in the community. The parents were wondering, "What was my child being taught, why was my child being taught this, why..." And the more we found out, particularly I had some special concerns, we had a child in a Back-to-Basics school which had a specific curriculum, and when we went and approached our principal and asked him what was going on, he said, "Well, we had to give this test." And we said, "Well, was there anything else connected with the test?" because what we were looking for was curriculum. And he said, "Well, yes. We were given this curriculum, but we didn't bother to teach it, but we've been told next we don't have any choice, we'll have to spend the time to teach it." And we said, "Well, has this curriculum gone through the parent curriculum committees?" And he said, "No. The school district is forcing it down our throats. It's coming from the State Department of Education." And we said, "This is unacceptable. This is not the reason we put our children in our school, in this particular school." And we found out that parents in schools that were not in Back-to-Basics schools had the same concerns. They were finding the curriculum in their school was being replaced for the six-week period prior to the test with this curriculum that was designed to prepare the children for the test they were about to take, and that curriculum was primarily environmentally oriented. I guess that basically takes it up to where we get you...

Michael Sanera: Thank you. What I want to go to next are the changes, the sort of grassroots uproar from parents groups across the state created the impact in the legislature. And what happened was a series of changes in the 1990 law.

(End of transcript)

The truth behind the test

Charles Redmond, a member of Arizona's original environmental education guidelines committee and now the Director for the Center for Environmental Studies at Arizona State University at Tempe remembers the test spoken about at NAAEE's conference. As Redmond recalls, the test was not meant to measure environmental knowledge, or even scientific knowledge. Instead, it was "part of a writing test—part of the general testing program." Redmond remembers, "It was a several day test, and you had to write long hand. One of the years the students were given some information about the rainforest... It was taken out of context." What about all the parent protest about the test? Redmond said that during the years of 1990-1993, the environmental education guidelines committee received no complaints about the test.[14]

Randy Hayes, Director of Rainforest Action Network (RAN) in San Francisco, said his organization had no involvement with a test in Arizona: "We were not contracted and we have not written any test for the state of Arizona." According to Hugo Llamas, RAN's Director of Outreach, there were no complaints from Arizona about RAN on anything: "No phone calls or complaints were received about Rainforest Action Network material in Arizona." [15]

Student letters to the editor about developing the desert

From the "The ABCs of Environmental Myths," by Michael Sanera and Jane Shaw:

> The 1990 act created the Environmental Protection Agency's Environmental Education Division, which has received $34.9 million in appropriations over the past five years. But little good has resulted. Take, for example, the 13 essays by second-graders at Canyon View Elementary School in Tucson, Ariz., published recently in the Arizona Daily Star. From the windows of their school, the children watched a housing development under construction. They didn't like it. "The desert used to look beautiful, but now they are wrecking it," wrote one child.
>
> "I love the smell of plants, but all of them are being bulldozed to make apartments," wrote another. "Our class used to sit in the desert to write and do other school activities," said a third. "But now they're using that land just for people to live in homes they don't really need."
>
> Homes "they don't really need"? What, pray, do these young writers live in? Well, it may not be logical, but it is the state of environmental education today.[16]

The events that prompted the students' letters about the desert

In 1991 the second graders at Canyon View Elementary School were in the midst of their science lesson plan on the desert, just as second-grade students had done with teacher Ron Melnick for the past eight years. During the three-month unit, students walked in the nearby desert and studied plants, in particular, the saguaro cactus, Arizona's state flower. Melnick describes the plant as a cactus with "big arms like the letter 'j' that live for several hundred years." The state of Arizona requires a permit to cut down saguaros on government land, and they are generally considered culturally important. Melnick, who now teaches fourth grade, describes the desert unit as one about science and nature, not about environmental education. He and the three other science teachers teaching the unit on the desert would often take their students to an area of privately-owned land behind the school that bordered a national park. Even though it was private land, no signs were posted, and no one complained about his use of the land as an outdoor classroom.[17]

"It was really convenient to see animals, see plants, name the plants, and teach symbiotic relationships," Melnick said. "Kids did observation reports of what they saw in the desert, sat in quiet circles, sat and wrote [about] what they saw."[18]

In 1991—which was not, as Sanera and Shaw claim in the *Wall Street Journal* in 1996, "recently"—Canyon View Elementary was so crowded that several of the classes had to relocate to temporary classrooms in trailers. "We had an overflow population for several years, and we had trailers and you could walk twenty yards and be in the desert," Melnick said. Then, one day, according to Melnick, the developer holding the land came in and razed it in one fell swoop.[19]

The school's principal, Chris Ahearn, remembers, "The particular circumstance of the field I'm looking at right now behind our parking lot was that it was held for many years and the district didn't buy it, and then it was flattened in a day—one day—just like that. It was all there one day, then in one day, [just] dirt. The kids wanted to write and register their concerns about development coming in."[20]

Melnick said that the developers' procedure was unusual because they didn't remove the saguaro cacti.

> The company came in and bulldozed them. This is unusual. These are sort of important plants to the people in Tucson. I don't know why they didn't contract with a greenhouse to relocate them. There's money in them, that didn't make sense. They usually call someone in. They usually remove them. [The students] saw these plants hacked down and mulched using a chipper to mulch them, which makes huge loud noises.[21]

Naturally, the students who had been studying the plants were very upset. The teachers got together and decided to help calm them down by talking with them about the situation they had witnessed. Melnick describes the process:

> Impartially as we could, we took this as a way to compare and contrast. We made a 'T' chart and discussed both sides of the picture. Who is benefiting from this? What would happen if they didn't do this? Why is it okay that they have homes and is it important for jobs? We [discussed] both sides before this event [the students writing letters] actually occurred. The students asked what could they do to show concerns. One of the options we gave them was to submit letters to the editor—on either side.[22]

Principal Ahearn concurs. Of the idea that the school presented only one side of the reasoning for and against the development, he said, "Nonsense. That is not what happened at all. All points of view were expressed, but from a second-grader's perspective, that's what they see—one day it is a desert, the next day it is gone. It was a balanced approach that we used. They are good teachers."[23]

Neither Melnick, nor Ahearn, nor the head of the local PTA reported any outbreak of community concern. In fact, all remember the experience as a positive one for this small

community. Melnick remembers only one mother, whose husband was a developer, sent in a note asking him to outline the development side. "I had already covered that, but realizing her concern ... I again re-emphasized because it often takes students two and three times to get the story. If anything, because of that note, I might have been biased in favor of development over the environmentalists," Melnick said.

There was one letter to the editor by a parent who was upset by what the students wrote. This was countered, however, by several letters supporting the students' letters. Furthermore, the parent who wrote to the newspaper did not, to anyone's knowledge, contact any of the teachers or the school. "It was one irate person who made us sound like raving lunatics and that person never contacted any of us. If they were concerned to that extent why hadn't they spoken to the principal or the teachers involved?" Melnick asked.[24]

Melnick and Ahearn defend the three month lesson on the desert and what they did in the circumstances of 1991 interruption. They are surprised that their story is being used to attack environmental education. "To look at the environment from either perspective is more and more important for the future," Melnick said. "More and more children need to be able to make sensible, educated decisions. They need to start looking at an issue from both sides... I think it was a great lesson. We don't have any little activist running around now in our community. They had their own awareness. We gave it form. If anything, we have people who are aware of environmental questions now."[25]

What about the outraged community? Ahearn says it doesn't exist. "These are well-balanced, sensible, down-to-earth people who see both sides. The average dinner conversation is to look at all sides—a much broader viewpoint approach. I don't see blind passionate outcries. People are very down-to-earth here," Ahearn said.[26]

How the stories were used to overturn environmental education in Arizona

The story: environmental education in Arizona was created by radical environmentalists with an agenda. Through parent outrage—and stories like the Rainforest Test and the letters to the editor—the 1990 legislation, which mandated and funded environmental education, was overturned. It was overturned by making the original environmental education committee more "balanced," holding hearings, and changing the law. Environmental education in Arizona is no longer the responsibility of the Department of Education, but the state's Land Department. Now monies from environmental license plates are funding holistic resource management. The guidelines have also been re-written, stipulating that all "school districts and state agencies that wish to participate in an environmental education program must base their teachings on the most current scientific data."[27]

The truth behind what happened

In 1995, Arizona Rep. (now Senator) Rusty Bowers (R-Mesa) introduced Arizona House Bill 2274. The bill removed the 1990 mandate that all school districts teach environmental education and re-routed revenues generated by environmental license plates, which previously funded environmental education. The funds now go to the state's Land Department, where they will fund programs for ranchers and loggers.

Congressman Bowers stated that he received 53 letters and fax messages in favor of the legislation.[28] However, upon examining the letters, another representative said that the authors of those letters did not understand the bill about which they wrote.[29] And the *Arizona Republic* reported that the public sent "120 letters about environmental education to legislators, with most of them in favor of maintaining the existing requirements."[30]

Arizona Senator Chris Cummisky describes this supposed grassroots outrage against environmental education:

> In a large part it was choreographed by the legislators—it was an 'Astroturf citizens movement.' They went out and recruited these people. It wasn't groups, it was individual anecdotal stories, two or three people who they would drive down to Phoenix. It wasn't a packed auditorium by any means.[31]

As evidence of the problems with environmental education in Arizona, Congressman Bowers publicly cited the rainforest test and the student letters about the desert and reported that his son came home from school declaring that coyotes didn't kill sheep.[32] When a reporter asked Bowers if he had spoken to his son's teacher about the misinformation, Bowers stated that he did not.[33] One of the additional speakers in favor of the legislation was the Arizona Cattleman's Association, part of a national group that is funding the attacks on environmental education.[34] It should be noted that Bowers has an interesting list of campaign contributors, among them the Arizona Cattleman's Association PAC, the Arizona Cotton Growers Association PAC, and the United Dairymen of Arizona PAC.

Michael Sanera was also involved in speaking out about establishing guidelines, both at the state capital and in public newspapers—yet he was not a registered lobbyist, according to Arizona state records.[35] Sanera said that original environmental education guidelines developed by Arizona state agencies and environmental groups were "replete with bias."[36]

Senator Cummisky describes Sanera as "the individual from Flaggstaff tied to the Goldwater Institute and other conservative think tanks. He was the ring leader and presented information that showed that environmental education was creating green eyed monsters, teaching respect for the earth."[37] In addition, Cummisky says, "He was presenting testimony

to the committee and was a member of the committee also. This isn't precluded by rule or statute, but it was very strange."[38]

What about the original guidelines? Were they replete with bias? According to both Charles Redmond and a letter to the editor in the *Phoenix Gazette*, environmental education in Arizona was more balanced before Sanera was involved. The letter to the editor explains the affiliations of the original 15 members of the environmental education guidelines committee as being diverse and appropriate. There were:

> ... six schools, two universities, four non-profit groups; one federal agency, one state agency and one cooperative extension service. Through a few telephone calls, I learned that three of four ... individuals affiliated with nonprofit groups were previously classroom teachers. The nonprofit groups represented were the Tucson Botanical Garden, Desert (Phoenix) Botanical Garden, Environmental Education Exchange, and Southern Arizona Water Resources Association ... Besides the formal committee itself, 41 other individuals are also credited with assisting with the development of the guidelines. Their affiliations are: 32 schools, four universities, one nonprofit group, one federal agency, one state agency.[39]

As the researcher points out, this is clearly not a group of radical environmentalists. Another citizen—a high school teacher—wrote a letter to the editor regarding a statement by Sanera that "Using the guidelines, teachers preach doom and gloom, leaving children with little hope for the future." The teacher writes:

> I am offended by this grossly exaggerated and a blanket accusation against teachers. These kinds of comments sound like someone with an agenda out to destroy meaningful environmental education. Inflammatory rhetoric like this seems quite hypocritical, coming from an individual supposedly promoting a balanced approach.[40]

But Senator Bowers' legislation changed the composition of the committee that oversees environmental education, an idea that was backed by agriculture, livestock and mining interests.[41] The new Environmental Education Advisory Council that was appointed was clearly set up to overturn environmental education and was filled with political appointees and representatives from extraction industries. It included:

> The superintendent of public instruction... three teachers appointed jointly by the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House. One member of a private conservation group, a member of the general public, two members of the Senate not of the same political party, a resident of an Indian reservation, one professional economist and a professional scientist, all appointed by the Senate president... two members of natural resource consumptive industries (farm, forest, mine or livestock) appointed by the House speaker, who also appoints two representatives from the House not of the same political party, an economist and a scientist.[42]

Charles Redmond, one of the original committee members from 1990, believes that the original commission was made up of people with substantial reputations, while the current commission, which includes Sanera, is composed entirely of "people with missions."[43]

Sen. Cummisky outlines how the program was carefully developed and then quickly killed:

> This was originally a very sound bi-partisan program, very well thought-out by the legislature and the Dept. of Education. There were guidelines developed—in fact, an excellent group of people spent fourteen months developing the rules and guidelines. In 1993, they started implementation of the program, and in '94 it was all over.[44]

All this legislative activity was undertaken on the basis of evidence described by one senator as "anecdotal," without a single survey to determine to what extent or in what manner environmental education is being taught in Arizona. In fact, Superintendent of Public Instruction C. Diane Bishop said that the environmental education program, established in 1990, was so new that she doubted much environmental education was being taught by the time the program was eliminated.[45]

The hopes for environmental education in Arizona remain bleak. According, to Senator Cummisky, the state-wide program "isn't effective now and doesn't serve much of a purpose." He added, "We tried to compromise with these people, tried to find a place of common ground. We wanted to compromise, but they weren't interested in compromise. They were interested in gutting the legislation."[46]

Fear, not facts: the people behind the stories

Michael Sanera and Jane S. Shaw are two of the key figures most frequently quoted in media articles citing a "trend" of criticism against environmental education. They also co-authored the campaign handbook—*Facts, not Fear: A Parent's Guide to Teaching Children About the Environment*, which contains a foreword by Marilyn Quayle and was published by Regnery Press, known for publishing right-wing books.

Facts, not Fear is a credible-looking organizing manual that raises questions about environmental issues, environmental textbooks, and environmental groups. Each chapter is reviewed by scientific "experts" and is detailed in its approach, attacking issues statistic by statistic. Common beliefs about rainforests, endangered species, population, water and air quality issues are all challenged.

An advertisement for the book claims that *Facts, not Fear* offers parents a balanced, sound-science alternative to the "exaggerated claims about the environmental crises" that kids hear in school.

Facts Not Fear repeats many of the media stories the authors themselves helped to create, and also spends a great deal of time de-bunking the science supporting claims of environmental problems. But taking a closer look at Sanera and Shaw and the "experts" they use to back up their claims finds they are funded by right-wing foundations and corporate polluters.

Facts, not Fear carries the copyright of the Alabama Family Alliance, which is part of the Focus on the Family network—a large, grassroots religious right coalition based in Colorado. The book attempts to bridge the gap between national conservative policy organizations and the grassroots and assumes that a large group of people share the authors' sentiments. The reality is that the majority of Americans are not anti-environmental, and religious organizations like the Episcopal "Noah" movement are bringing environmental discussions to the pulpit. Yet some members of the religious right are saying that the environmental movement is anti-Christian and pagan. Sanera and Shaw are trying to capitalize on the sentiments of the radical religious fringe and organize to over-turn environmental education through the Focus on the Family network. "This is similar to what the religious right did in the 1980's when they focused locally on school board elections," said Dan Barry of the Clearinghouse for Environmental Advocacy and Research.[47]

Ties with right-wing foundations and corporate polluters

Sanera directs the Center for Environmental Education Research at the Claremont Institute, a highly conservative think tank founded in 1979. Sanera is also president of the Arizona Institute for Public Policy Research (AIPPR). Both organizations are members of Alliance for America, a nationwide network of over 500 Wise-Use groups. Alliance for America's funders include the National Rifle Association and numerous industry front groups, including the American Mining Congress, American Petroleum Institute, American Pulpwood Association, and Chemical Manufacturers Association.

The Claremont Institute and AIPPR are also network members of the Heritage Foundation, one of the most influential --and well-funded-- right-wing advocacy and public relations organizations in the country. According to People for the American Way's report *Buying a Movement*, the Heritage Foundation "had substantial input into the writing of the Republican Contract with America." As to Heritage's overall credibility, Alan Crawford, author of *Thunder on the Right*, a study of right-wing organizations, found that the supposedly objective foundation's studies "invariably confirm the notions to which its conservative colleagues and trustees... are already committed."[48]

A look at Heritage's funding reveals significant support from right-wing foundations, including John M. Olin, Lynde and Harry Bradley, Carthage, and Sarah Scaife. The

organization's funders also includes many of the corporate giants that have the most to gain from hurting environmental education, such as the Amoco Foundation, Boeing, Chevron, Coors Foundation, Dow Chemical, Exxon, Ford Motor Company Fund, General Motors, IBM, Mobil Oil, Philip Morris, R.J. Reynolds, General Electric, Proctor & Gamble, and Shell.

Many of these corporations are notorious for their environmental misdeeds. An Exxon Corporation tanker caused a catastrophic oil spill in Prince William Sound, while Shell's operations in Nigeria (a major source of global-warming gases) have been involved in human rights abuses and enormous environmental destruction to the land of the Ogoni people.

While supporting the claim that environmental education is biased, some of these same corporations simultaneously send out anti-environmental propaganda disguised as lesson plans. Shell Oil distributes a classroom video that espouses the joys of driving and the virtues of oil and gasoline as energy sources. Dow Chemical has created "Chemapalooza," a music video program that emphasizes how everything is "made up of chemicals," thereby implying that all chemicals are natural and safe, that there is no difference between drinking water and chlorine bleach. (See Part 3 of this report.)

A profile of organizational and funding links for Jane S. Shaw, co-author of *Facts, not Fear*, looks remarkably similar. Shaw is a senior associate at the Political Economy Research Center (PERC). PERC is also a member of both the Alliance for America and the Heritage Foundation. In fact, Adam Meyerson, vice president of the Heritage Foundation, is on PERC's board of directors. A list of PERC's funders looks familiar because many are also Heritage funders: Amoco Foundation, Lilly Endowment, Carthage Foundation, John M. Olin Foundation, and Sarah Scaife Foundation.

Facts Not Fear's Scientists—Experts with an agenda

A majority of the individuals on the panel of "experts" who certified that each issue-specific chapter accurately reflects scientific understanding of the issue also have ties to industry and the right-wing think tanks involved in the attack. These include: (See Appendix for a full list)

- Murray Weidenbaum, chair of the conservative Center for the Study of American Business (CSAB) and professor of economics at Washington University, reviewed chapter 7, "Natural Resources—On the Way Out?" CSAB was founded with a donation from John M. Olin, former chairman of Olin Industries, a munitions manufacturer.[49] The John M. Olin Foundation is now one of the largest funders of the right-wing movement. CSAB published Jo Kwong's 1995 article, "Environmental Education: Getting Beyond Advocacy."

- Dean Lueck, Assistant Professor of Agricultural and Resource Economics at North Carolina State University, reviewed chapter 10: "American Wildlife—On The Edge?" Lueck published a paper in 1991 titled, "Ownership and Regulation of Wildlife," for which he received research support from the Earhart Foundation through PERC.[50] The Earhart Foundation also funded *Facts, not Fear.*
- Fred Seitz, chair of the board of directors of the conservative George C. Marshall Institute, and Sallie Baliunas, senior scientist at the Marshall Institute, reviewed chapter 14, "Sorting Out Ozone." The Marshall Institute, known for its attempts to dismiss concerns about global warming by casting doubt on the scientific evidence[51], is currently sponsoring another anti-environmental venture—the Independent Commission on Environmental Education. This commission, like the other environmental education critics, claims to be non-partisan and concerned with the welfare of our nation's youth. But the Earth Island Journal reports that an anonymous source forwarded EIJ a leaked funding proposal for the Commission and warned that the Commission's work is part of a strategy "timed to defeat re-authorization of the National Environmental Education Act, which funds most environmental education efforts nationally." Three of the Commission's members, Seitz, Roger Sedjo of Resources for the Future, and Nicholas Eberstadt of American Enterprise Institute, are also on the "expert" panel for *Facts, not Fear.*

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[1] For example, a subcommittee of the California Senate tried—but failed—to deprive the state Department of Education of money it had used to leverage $4 million in federal grants for environmental education in secondary schools. This was reported by Frank Clifford, "Battle Over Environment Moves to the Classroom; Schools: Critics Say Many Curricula Supplied by Activists or Industry are Biased. Some States Move to Ban Advocacy," *Los Angeles Times*, 13 November 1995.

[2] Charles Redmond, personal interview (via phone), February 1997.

[3] Trish Poe, personal interview (via phone), January 1997.

[4] Stephen Foehr, "Making a difference; Girl who would be president leads international environmental group," *The Patriot Ledger*, 30 December 1995, 1. Trish Poe personal interview, and other public reports of Melissa's story and KIDSFACE.

[5] Poe.

[6] Foehr.

[7] Michael Sanera and Jane Shaw, "The ABCs of Environmental Myths," *Wall Street Journal*, 4 September 1996, op-ed page.

[8] Sara Savitt, ed., "Assault on Environmental Education," *A CLEAR View*, The Clearinghouse For Environmental Advocacy and Research, 27 January 1997, Vol. 4. No. 2.

[9] Sanera and Shaw, "The ABCs of Environmental Myths."

[10] Nancy Bray Cardozo, personal interview (via phone), February 1997.

[11] Cardozo, personal interview.

[12] Cardozo, personal interview.

[13] Nancy Bray Cardozo, "Reading, Writing & Ruin," *Audubon*, January-February 1994, 112.

[14] Redmond.

[15] Randy Hayes, personal interview (via phone), December 1996.

[16] Sanera and Shaw, "The ABCs of Environmental Myths."

[17] Ron Melnick, personal interview (via phone), March 1997.
[18] Melnick.
[19] Melnick.
[20] Chris Ahearn, personal interview (via phone), March 1997.
[21] Melnick.
[22] Melnick.
[23] Ahearn.
[24] Melnick.
[25] Melnick.
[26] Ahearn.
[27] Minutes from the House Committee on the Environment discussion of H.B. 2274, 16 February 1995.
[28] Minutes from the House Committee on the Environment.
[29] Statement by Rep. Richardson, Minutes from the House Committee on the Environment.
[30] Steve Yozwiak, "Balance of Nature: Conservatives Target State's 'Green' Laws," *The Arizona Republic*, 16 February 1995, A1.
[31] Arizona Senator Chris Cummisky, personal interview (via phone), March 1997.
[32] Clifford.
[33] Linda Valdez, "Committee On Environmental Education is Off To A Curious Start," *The Arizona Republic*, 2 December 1994.
[34] Minutes from the House Committee on the Environment.
[35] According to a representative from the registrar of lobbyists records in Arizona, Sanera was not registered at the time he was specifically speaking about legislation.
[36] Michael Sanera, "Kids and Environment: Taught to Be Warriors, Worriers," *The Phoenix Gazette*, 8 February 1995.
[37] Cummisky.
[38] Cummisky.
[39] Laura J. Key, "Not Radicals," letter to the editor, *Phoenix Gazette*, 20 February 1995, B4.
[40] Jay Butler, "Environmental Ed," letter to the editor, *Phoenix Gazette*, 20 February 1995, B6.
[41] Barry Burkhart, "Bill Needs to Be Rejected- For Sake of Our Children," *The Arizona Republic*, 13 April 1994.
[42] Burkhart.
[43] Redmond.
[44] Cummisky.
[45] Valdez.
[46] Cummisky.
[47] Dan Barry, personal interview (via phone), September 1996.
[48] Russ Bellant, *The Coors Connection: How Coors Family Philanthropy Undermines Democratic Pluralism*, Political Research Associates, 11 (Bellant quoting Alan Crawford).
[49] Savitt.
[50] *Economic Inquiry*, April 1991.
[51] See, for example, Rep. George E. Brown, "Environmental Science Under Siege in the U.S. Congress," *Environment*, v. 39, no. 2, March 1997, 13-20, 29-31.

Part 2.

The Anti-Environmental Backlash: Individuals and Organizations Linked to the Attacks on Environmental Education

Part 2.
The Anti-Environmental Backlash: Individuals and Organizations Linked to the Attacks on Environmental Education

A disturbing aspect of the backlash against environmental education is the degree to which its architects try to make it appear to be a grassroots movement. But as this report documents, the groups leading the backlash are not made up simply of concerned parents. Rather, most are established and well-funded right-wing organizations with a long history of trying to convince both the public and policy-makers that environmental problems are not as serious as they are made out to be, and that efforts to correct the problems cause the unjustified sacrifice of individual freedom and economic health.

The following chart lists the main participants in the attack on environmental education, explains how they are involved, and tracks the money trail that connects them to the leading funders of the right-wing movement: corporate polluters (such as Amoco, Dow Chemical, Texaco) and right-wing foundations (such as the John M. Olin Foundation, Scaife Family Foundations, and the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation). Chart A lists the groups who are leading the attack, while Chart B lists the key groups who are funding the attack.

The leaders of the attack

The leaders of the anti-environmental education campaign are the Claremont Institute's Center for Environmental Education Research (CEER), the Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI), the George C. Marshall Institute, the Political Economy Research Group (PERC), and the Environmental Education Working Group (EEWG), a coalition group in which the four previously mentioned groups all have representatives. Other EEWG members include the Alabama Family Alliance, the Alaska Council on Economic Education, the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, and the Heartland Institute.[1]

As examples of the complicated interconnections among these groups, we offer profiles of several of the most vocal critics of environmental education. This close examination clearly reveals the shared anti-environmental, anti-regulatory agenda—and common funding base—of environmental education's attackers.

The George C. Marshall Institute • Independent Commission on Environmental Education

The George C. Marshall Institute, a conservative Washington, DC, think tank, founded the Independent Commission on Environmental Education (ICEE). This eleven-member

body is evaluating "the current state of environmental education" through a review of "the most widely used curricula, textbooks, and educational materials." [2] The ICEE's report, due in Spring 1997, will "provide guidelines for improving teaching in this field."[3] But given the conservative views of the Marshall Institute and the ICEE (four of the Commission's members also served on the academic and scientific advisory panel for *Facts, not Fear*), the ICEE's recommendations are likely to benefit the corporate interests behind the attack, not the field of environmental education.

The Marshall Institute is known for its efforts to discredit concerns among the scientific community about global warming and ozone depletion. Several of the ICEE's members—Bruce Ames, Nicholas Eberstadt, and Roger Sedjo—contributed to the Competitive Enterprise Institute's book, *The True State of the Planet.* The Marshall Institute's senior scientist, Sallie Baliunas, is not an ICEE member but did review *Facts, not Fear's* chapter on ozone. She previously contributed to "Earth Day '96," a one-time publication from the right-wing Heartland Institute that was distributed to college campuses by the Atlas Foundation and PERC, among others.

Claremont Institute • Michael Sanera

Profiles of *Facts, not Fear* authors Michael Sanera and Jane Shaw can be found in Part 1 of this report. Here, we present more detail on the connections between Sanera's Claremont Institute and the Heritage Foundation. Sanera is a former adjunct scholar at the Heritage Foundation. The Claremont Institute's president, Lawrence Arnn, who is also on the board of advisors of the Arizona Institute for Public Policy Research, serves as executive director of the Aequus Institute. Among the Aequus Institute's other officers is Edwin Feulner, Jr., whose other posts include president of the Heritage Foundation and trustee of the Sarah Scaife Foundation.

Competitive Enterprise Institute • Jonathan Adler

Jonathan Adler is an environmental policy analyst and director of environmental studies at the Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI), which is a network member of Alliance for America, Heritage Foundation, and Get Government Off Our Backs. CEI advisor Phil Truluck is executive vice president of Heritage. Other noteworthy CEI advisors include Christopher DeMuth, president of American Enterprise Institute; Robert Poole, president of the Reason Foundation; and Frank Blake, vice president and general counsel of General Electric. CEI is heavily funded by Richard Scaife, who has been described as "nothing less than the financial archangel for the [conservative] movement's intellectual underpinnings" by the *Wall Street Journal*, and as one of the people who "really created modern conservatism" by Newt Gingrich.[4]

Atlas Economic Research Foundation • Jo Kwong

Jo Kwong is an environmental research associate and director of public affairs at the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, which promotes the development of free-market think tanks worldwide. Atlas is a network member of the Heritage Foundation and was listed as a resource group in "Earth Day '96," published by the Heartland Institute. Kwong's December 1995 article, "Environmental Education: Getting Beyond Advocacy," quotes both Sanera and Adler, among other right-wing critics, and makes the apparently shocking claim that "the environmental education campaign is aimed at turning our nation's school children into environmentalists."[5] Kwong complains about teachers who are insufficiently prepared to teach about environmental topics, inexperienced "experts" who give in-class presentations on environmental subjects, and the frequently piecemeal approach to environmental education rather than a sequential, focused curriculum. But at the same time, she opposes greater financial support from state or federal government for improving environmental education.

There is a pattern of recurrence among the groups funding the attack. These are foundations and corporations whose particular goal is to support the conservative viewpoint on environmental issues (and all else): free enterprise and private property rights will provide all the environmental protection we need. Those who most significantly support the attack on environmental education include polluters such as Amoco, ARCO, Proctor & Gamble—who have consistently been at odds with environmental policy—and right-wing foundations such as the Scaife Family Foundations and the John M. Olin Foundation.

Those groups engaging in the attack against environmental education and their financial supporters have a common goal: to protect polluters from the potentially damaging influence of citizen awareness. It is imperative that we recognize and expose the political agenda behind this attack. If we want to equip young people to understand and help solve the complex issues of our society, we must encourage and support high-quality environmental education, not the corporate-fueled version that the polluting industries and environmental education critics would prefer.

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[1] Gar Smith, "Razing Arizona," *Earth Island Journal*, Summer 1996, 17.
[2] George C. Marshall Web site. Available 10 March 1997: Netscape: http://www.marshall.org/icee.html.
[3] George C. Marshall Web site.
[4] "Buying a Movement: Right-Wing Foundations and American Politics," People for the American Way, 21.
[5] Jo Kwong, "Environmental Education: Getting Beyond Advocacy," Center for the Study of American Business, Contemporary Issues Series 76, December 1995, 1.

Chart A: Individuals and Organizations carrying out the attack on environmental education

Organization, key individuals, location	Involvement in attack on environmental education	Funded by	Ties to corporate polluters/ religious right/other groups involved in the attack
Alabama Family Alliance Gary Palmer, director 402 Office Park Drive, Suite 300, Birmingham, AL 35223 (205) 870-9900	Alabama Family Alliance holds the copyright to *Facts, not Fear*, the cornerstone of the attack on Environmental Education. Palmer is credited with being the "inspiration" for the book. Also a member of Environmental Education Working Group.	no funding information available	Alabama Family Alliance is a Religious Right group and a state affiliate of Focus on the Family. Listed as a resource in the Heartland Foundation's "Earth Day '96."
Alaska Council on Economic Education Steve Jackstadt 3211 Providence Dr. Anchorage, AK 99508 (907) 786-1901	Member of Environmental Education Working Group.	ARCO Foundation	
Alliance for America P.O. Box 449 Caroga Lake, NY 12078 (518) 835-6702	Purchased 500 copies of *Facts, not Fear* for distribution to Wise Use groups around the country. Harry McIntosh,VP for administration, referred us to Sanera and Shaw, with whom they work . He described *Facts, not Fear* as "great," and said that they're involved in a textbook review project.	Amer. Farm Bureau Federation, Amer. Freedom Coalition, Amer. Mining Congress, Amer. Motorcyclist Association, Amer. Petroleum Institute, Amer. Pulpwood Association, Chemical Manufacturing Association, Land Improvement Contractors of Amer., Marigold Mining, National Cattlemen's Assn., National Rifle Assn., National Trappers Assn., Rocky Mountain Oil and Gas Assn.	Alliance for America is an umbrella organization of over 500 Wise-Use groups all around the U.S.

Organization, key individuals, location	Involvement in attack on environmental education	Funded by	Ties to corporate polluters/ religious right/other groups involved in attack
American Enterprise Institute Nicholas Eberstadt, visiting scholar 1150 17th St. NW Washington, DC 20036 (202) 862-5800	Eberstadt, who is also a visiting fellow at the Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies, reviewed chapter 6 of *Facts, Not Fear*. He is also on the Independent Commission on Environmental Education (see George Marshall Institute below).	Alcoa Foundation, Ameritech Foundation, Amoco Foundation, ARCO Foundation, Armstrong Foundation, AT&T Foundation, Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, Bristol-Myers Squibb Foundation, BT Foundation, Chevron, Chrysler Corporation Fund, CIGNA Foundation, Earhart Foundation, General Electric, John M. Olin Foundation, Eli Lilly & Co. Foundation, Lilly Endowment, Proctor & Gamble Fund, Smith Richardson Foundation, Scaife Family Foundation, Sarah Scaife Foundation, Weigand Foundation	Christopher DeMuth, president of AEI, is on CEI's advisory board.
Arizona Institute for Public Policy Research Michael Sanera, director 7049 East Tanque Verde Rd., Ste. 386, Tucson, AZ 85715 (520)722-3300	Member of Environmental Education Working Group.		Sanera is also an adjunct scholar at the Heritage Foundation. AIPPR was listed as a resource in the Heartland Foundation's "Earth Day '96."
Atlas Economic Research Foundation Jo Kwong 4084 University Drive, Ste. 103 Fairfax, VA 22030 (703)934-6969	Member of Environmental Education Working Group. Kwong has written several articles criticizing Environmental Education.	Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation, Carthage Foundation, Earhart Foundation, Lilly Endowment, Proctor & Gamble Fund, Smith Richardson Foundation	Listed as a resource in the Heartland Foundation's "Earth Day '96." Kwong is also affiliated with Citizens for the Environment. Her article was published by the Center for the Study of American Business. Atlas provides start-up costs for free-market think tanks around the world; 1.9 million in revenue in 1993.

Organization, key individuals, location	Involvement in attack on environmental education	Funded by	Ties to corporate polluters/ religious right/other groups involved in attack
Cato Institute Edward M. Crane, president 1000 Massachusetts Ave. NW Washington, DC 20001-5403 (202)842-0200 cato@capcon.net	Has published the writings of many of the members of *Facts, not Fear*'s academic and scientific advisory panel.	Amer. Farm Bureau Federation, Amer. Petroleum Institute, Ameritech Foundation, Amoco Foundation, ARCO Foundation, Assn. of International Auto Manufacturers, Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation, Coca-Cola, William H. Donner Foundation, Exxon, Ford Motor Company Fund, JM Foundation, Koch Industries, Vernon K.Krieble Foundation, Claude R. Lambe Foundation, Liberty Fund, Lilly Endowment, Phillip M. McKenna Foundation, Monsanto, Motorola Foundation, NBC, Pfizer, Philip Morris, Procter & Gamble Fund, Sarah Scaife Foundation, Toyota Motor Sales	
Citizens for Excellence in Education Robert L. Simonds, president P.O. Box 3200 Costa Mesa, CA 92628 (714)251-9333	Has been involved in anti-Environmental Education campaigns in several communities.	Coors Foundation	Religious Right organization. Considers EE part of the "New Age" education/movement, and therefore pagan, anti-Christian, and anti-family. Publishes a book called *Under the Spell of Mother Earth*, as well as the booklet, "How to Elect Christians to Public Office."
Claremont Institute Michael Sanera, director of the C enter for Environmental Education Research (CEER) CEER: 7049 East Tanque Verde Rd., Suite 386 Tucson, AZ 85715 (520)722-3300 Claremont: 250 West First St. Ste. 330, Claremont, CA 91711 (909)621-6825	Sanera is co-author of *Facts, not Fear* (Regnery). He has also been a key figure in attacking Environmental Education at the state level, e.g. in Arizona and Wisconsin, and has written many articles critical of Environmental Education.	Aequus Institute, Banbury Fund, Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation ($240 K in 1993-94), Carthage Foundation, JM Foundation, Fred A. Lennon Foundation, Philip M. McKenna Foundation, Henry Salvatori Foundation, Sarah Scaife Foundation, Smith Richardson Foundation, Weigand Foundation	The Claremont Institute is in Claremont, CA, but the CEER is in AZ. Claremont has same address as Aequus; Lawrence Arnn is president of Claremont and exec. director of Aequus. Heritage president Edwin Feulner Jr., is secretary of Aequus.

Organization, key individuals, location	Involvement in attack on environmental education	Funded by	Ties to corporate polluters/ religious right/other groups involved in attack
Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI) - a free-market lobbying organization and clearinghouse Jonathan Adler Fred Smith Helen Hewitt 1001 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 1250 Washington, DC 20036 (202)331-1010 cei@access.digex.net	Adler is director of Environmental Studies; he is frequently cited by other anti-Environmental Education authors. CEI is also involved in the publication of *Facts, not Fear* by Shaw and Sanera. Member of Environmental Education Working Group.	Aequus Institute, Amer. Petroleum Institute, Amoco, ARCO Foundation, Armstrong Foundation, Burlington Northern Railroad Co., Carthage Foundation, Charles C. Koch Charitable Foundation, Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation, Coca-Cola, CSX Corp., David H. Koch Charitable Foundation, Detroit Farming Inc., Dow Chemical, EBCO Corp., Ford Motor Co., General Motors, IBM, JM Foundation, Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, Pfizer Inc., Philip Morris Companies, Phillip M. McKenna Foundation, Precision Valve Corp., Sarah Scaife Foundation, Smith Richardson Foundation, Texaco Foundation	Published *The True State of the Planet*. Listed as a resource in the Heartland Foundation's "Earth Day '96."
Environmental Education Working Group	Coalition group whose members include George C. Marshall Institute, PERC, Heartland Institute, CEI, Atlas Economic Research Foundation, Arizona Institute for Public Policy Research, Alaska Council on Economic Education, Alabama Family Alliance		
Heartland Institute 800 East Northwest Highway, Suite 1080 Palatine, IL 60067 (702)202-3060	Member of Environmental Education Working Group. Published "Earth Day '96," a one-time publication that was distributed on college campuses.	JM Foundation, John M. Olin Foundation	

Organization, key individuals, location	Involvement in attack on environmental education	Funded by	Ties to corporate polluters/ religious right/other groups involved in attack
Heritage Foundation 214 Massachusetts Ave NE, Washington, DC 20002 (202)546-4400	Listed as a resource in the Heartland Foundation's "Earth Day '96."	Alcoa Foundation, Amoco Foundation, Amway, ARCO Foundation, Boeing, Ashland Oil, Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, Carthage Foundation, Chevron, Coors Foundation, Donner Foundation, Dow Chemical, Exxon, Federation of Korean Industries, Ford Motor Company Fund, G.E. Foundation, General Motors, GTE, IBM, JM Foundation, F.M. Kirby Foundation, Eli Lilly, Lockheed, McKenna Foundation, Mobil Oil, Murdock Charitable Trust, John M. Olin Foundation, J. Howard Pew Freedom Trust, Philip Morris, Procter & Gamble Fund, Pfizer, Reader's Digest, R.J. Reynolds Tobacco, Sarah Scaife Foundation, Shell Companies Foundation, Texaco, Union Pacific	Edwin Feulner Jr., president of Heritage, is also secretary of Aequus Institute, which funds and has same address as Claremont. He's also on board of trustees of Sarah Scaife Foundation. John Tierney, whose controversial June 1996 New York Times Magazine piece "Recycling is Garbage" derided Environmental Education, is a former Heritage scholar.
Hoover Institution Mikhail S. Bernstam Thomas G. Moore Stanford University Stanford, CA 94305-6010 (415)723-0603	Bernstam reviewed air pollution chapter in *Facts, Not Fear*. Moore serves on the Marshall Institute's Independent Commission on Environmental Education.	Alcoa Foundation, Archer-Daniels-Midland Foundation, Bechtel Foundation, Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundatin, Bristol-Meyers Squibb Foundation, Coors Foundation, Earhart Foundation, Ford Motor Company, General Motors Foundation, Jaquelin Hume Foundation, JM Foundation, John M. Olin Foundation, Proctor & Gamble Fund, Sarah Saife Foundation, Smith Richardson Foundation	

Organization, key individuals, location	Involvement in attack on environmental education	Funded by	Ties to corporate polluters/ religious right/other groups involved in attack
Hudson Institue Herbert London 5395 Emerson Way Herman Kahn Center P.O. Box 26-919 Indianapolis, IN 46226 (317)545-1000 (317)545-9639 fax	Listed as a resource in the Heartland Foundation's "Earth Day '96."	Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation, Burlington Northern Foundation, Carthage Foundation, Eli Lilly & Co. Foundation, Lilly Endowment, John M. Olin Foundation, Smith Richardson Foundation	London is a professor at NYU.
Independent Commission on Environmental Education 1730 K St. NW Suite 905 Washington, DC 20006 (202)296-9655 (202)296-9714 fax	This is a project of the George C. Marshall Institute. The panel is "evaluating the current state of environmental education" and "providing guidelines for improving teaching in this field." ICEE members Nicholas Eberstadt, Roger Sedjo, and Fred Seitz also served on the academic and scientific advisory panel for *Facts, not Fear.*	(see George C. Marshall Institute)	
George C. Marshall Institute Jeffrey Salmon Sallie Baliunas Fred Seitz 1730 K St. NW Suite 905 Washington, DC 20006 (202)296-9655 (202)296-9714 fax	Listed as a resource in the Heartland Foundation's "Earth Day '96."	Bodman Foundation, Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation, William H. Donner Foundation, JM Foundation, Sarah Scaife Foundation	They're known for debunking ozone depletion. Jeffrey Salmon, the executive director, is part of the Independent Commission on Environmental Education. Sallie Baliunas, chair of the science advisory board at Marshall, and Fred Seitz, chair of the board of directors, reviewed ozone chapter in *Facts, Not Fear.* Member of Environmental Education Working Group. The Independent Commission on Environmental Education and the Washington Roundtable are projects of theirs. Willis Hawkins on board of directors is senior advisor to Lockheed Corp.

Organization, key individuals, location	Involvement in attack on environmental education	Funded by	Ties to corporate polluters/ religious right/other groups involved in attack
Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy (formerly the Pacific Institute for Public Policy Research) 755 Sansome St. San Francisco, CA 94111 (415)989-0833	PRI published a book by Robert Balling on climate change. Balling was one of two scientific experts to review the chapter on climate change in *Facts, not Fear.*	Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation, Donner Foundation, Jacquelin Hume Foundation, David H. Koch Charitable Fundation, JM Foundation, Lilly Endowment, John M. Olin Foundation, Randolph Foundation, Scaife Foundation, Weigand Foundation	
Political Economy Research Center (PERC) Jane S. Shaw Donald R. Wentworth Terry Anderson Donald Leal Richard Stroup 502 S. 19th Ave. Suite 211 Boseman, MT 59715 (406)587-9591	Shaw is co-author of *Facts, not Fear* (Regnery). PERC is a member of Environmental Education Working Group.	Amoco Foundation, Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation, Burlington Northern, Carthage Foundation, Earhart Foundation, Jaquelin Hume Foundation, JM Foundation, John M. Olin Foundation, Lilly Endowment, Murdock Charitable Trust, Sarah Scaife Foundation, Smith Richardson Foundation	Adam Meyerson, VP of Heritage Foundation, is on PERC's board of directors. Listed as a resource in the Heartland Foundation's "Earth Day '96."
Reason Foundation 3415 Sepulveda Blvd., Suite 400 Los Angeles, CA 90034 (310)391-2245	Oct. 1991 issue of *Reason Magazine* featured article by Thomas Harvey Holt, "Growing up Green: Are Schools Turning our Kids into Eco-activists?"	Amer. Farm Bureau Federation, Ameritech, Amoco Foundation, Anheuser-Busch, ARCO Foundation, Bechtel International, Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, Carthage Foundation, Chevron, Coca-Cola Foods, Coors, Exxon, Ford Motor Company Fund, General Dynamics, GE Fund, JM Foundation, Koch Charitable Foundation, Liberty Fund, Eli Lilly & Co. Foundation, Lilly Endowment, Philip M. McKenna Foundation, Mobil Oil, Murdock Charitable Trust, John M. Olin Foundation, Perot Group, Philip Morris, Pfizer, Phillips Petroleum, Sarah Scaife Foundation, Smith Richardson Foundation, Texaco, Unocal Foundation, Weigand Foundation, Xerox Foundation	Publishes *Reason* magazine. Holt is on the Capital Research Center Board. Listed as a resource in the Heartland Foundation's "Earth Day '96."

Organization, key individuals, location	Involvement in attack on environmental education	Funded by	Ties to corporate polluters/ religious right/other groups involved in attack
Regnery Publishing, Inc. Alfred S. Regnery, CEO 422 First St. SE Washington, DC 20003 (202)546-5005	Published *Facts, not Fear.*		Known for publishing controversial and/or highly conservative books such as those by Mark Fuhrman, former FBI agent Gary Aldrich, Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour, and National Rifle Association executive Wayne LaPierre.
Resources for the Future Rodger Sedjo Washington, DC	Sedjo reviewed chapter 9 (on rainforests) in *Facts, not Fear.*	Amoco Foundation, ARCO Foundation, AT&T Foundation, BankAmerica Foundation, CIGNA Foundation, Ford Motor Company Fund, GE Fund, Texaco Foundation, Weyerhaeuser Company Foundation	
Wisconsin Policy Research Institute P.O. Box 487, 11516 Port Washington Rd., Thiensville, WI 53092 (414)963-0600	Published "Environmental Education in Wisconsin: What the Textbooks Teach" by Michael Sanera (June 1996 report, vol. 9, no. 5)	Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation, J.M. Foundation, John M. Olin Foundation, Smith Richardson Foundation	

Chart B: The Funders of the Attack on Environmental Education

Foundations/Funders Key Individuals Location	How connected with attacks on environmental education (who they fund, etc.)	Connection to corporate polluters &/or religious right
Amoco Foundation Inc. Larry Fuller	Has funded American Enterprise Institute, Cato Institute, Competitive Enterprise Institute, Heritage Foundation, Political Economy Research Center, Reason Foundation, Resources for the Future. Co-sponsors environmental education materials with the American Plastics Council.	Also in alliance with McDonald's: setting up "co-branded" locations, i.e. gas stations with food.
ARCO Foundation	Has funded Alaska Council on Economic Education, American Enterprise Institute, Cato Institute, Competitive Enterprise Institute, Heritage Foundation, Reason Foundation.	ARCO was one of the leaders in corporate-funded grassroots political involvment and education. ARCO is the largest manufacturer of the carcinogen propylene oxide.
Bechtel Foundation	Has funded the American Enterprise Institute, Heritage Foundation, Hoover Institution, Pacific Research Institute, Reason Foundation.	Money comes from construction and nuclear power initiatives worldwide.
Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation	Has funded American Enterprise Institute, Atlas Economic Research Foundation, Cato Institute, Claremont Institute, Competitive Enterprise Institute, George C. Marshall Institute, Heritage Foundation, Hoover Institution, Political Economy Research Center, Reason Foundation, Wisconsin Policy Research Institute.	Money comes from the Allen-Bradley Company, producers of electronic and radio components, and its sale in 1985 to Rockwell International Corp.
Adolph Coors Foundation	Has funded Heritage Foundation (Heritage began with a $250,000 grant from Coors in 1973), Hoover Institution, National Association of Christian Educators/Citizens for Excellence in Education, Reason Foundation.	Brewing industry is source of revenue. Has long-standing relationship with prominent religious right leaders. Notoriously anti-gay, anti-minority, and anti-women's rights.
Earhart Foundation	Has funded American Enterprise Institute, Atlas Economic Research Institute, as well as *Facts, Not Fear*.	Dennis Bark of the Hoover Institution and Willa Johnson of Capital Research Center are on the board.
Jacquelin Hume Foundation	Funded *Facts, Not Fear*, Cato Institute, Competitive Enterprise Institute, Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy, Heritage Foundation, Hoover Institution, Political Economy Research Center.	
Koch Family Foundations	Has funded Cato Institute (and other libertarian causes), Reason Foundation, Competitive Enterprise Institute.	Money comes from oil, chemicals, cattle, real estate. Charles Koch is son of Fred Koch, is an MIT trained engineer. Fred Koch was member of John Birch Society.

Eli Lilly & Co. Foundation, Lilly Endowment	Has funded American Enterprise Institute, Atlas Economic Research Foundation, Cato Institute, Heritage Foundation, Hudson Institute, Political Economy Research Foundation, Reason Foundation.	Money comes from pharmaceuticals.
John M. Olin Foundation	Has funded American Enterprise Institute, George C. Marshall Institute, Heartland Institute, Heritage Foundation, Hoover Institution, Political Economy Research Center, Reason Foundation, Wisconsin Policy Research Institute.	Money comes from manufacturing agricultural chemicals and "sporting weapons." (Olin Industries is a munitions manufacturer in Illinois.)
Scaife Family Foundations (the Sarah Scaife, Carthage, and Allegheny Foundations)	Has funded American Enterprise Institute, Cato Institute, Claremont Institute, Competitive Enterprise Institute, George C. Marshall Institute, Heritage Foundation, Hoover Institution, Hudson Institute, Political Economy Research Center, Reason Foundation.	Money comes from Gulf Oil, steel industry, and holdings in Amoco, Bristol Myers Squibb, Exxon, Cyprus AMAX, Ford Motor, and Philip Morris. Richard Mellon Sciafe, heir to the fortunes of the Mellon oil and banking family and chairman of Scaife Family Foundations, is known as one of the founders of the "New Right" and has been a major funder of the conservative movement for more than 20 years.
Smith Richardson Foundation	Has funded American Enterprise Institute, Competitive Enterprise Institute, Hoover Institution, Hudson Institute, Political Economy Research Institute, Reason Foundation, Wisconsin Policy Research Institute.	
Weyerhaeuser Foundation	Has funded American Enterprise Institute, Associated Oregon Industries Foundation, Resources for the Future. Produces environmental education materials and does teacher trainings.	Weyerhaeuser Co. is a forest products company.

Sources for Charts A and B: "Buying A Movement: Right-Wing Foundations and American Politics" by People for the American Way; Clearinghouse on Environmental Advocacy and Research database; *Facts, Not Fear: A Parent's Guide to Teaching Children About the Environment* by Michael Sanera and Jane S. Shaw, Regnery Publishing, 1996; Foundation Center database and Grants Index, *Greenpeace Guide to Anti-Environmental Organizations* by Carl Deal, Odonian Press, 1993; *Ominous Politics: the New Conservative Labyrinth* by John S. Saloma III, Hill and Wang, 1984; *The Right Guide*, Derk Arend Wilcox, ed., Economics America, Inc., 1995; and information from the organizations listed in the chart.

Part 3.

Greenwashing: Examples of Educational Materials Produced by Corporate Funders of the Attack

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The Center for Commercial-Free Public Education monitors commercialism and greenwashing in schools. Using teacher mailing lists, many companies send free or low-cost materials, including lesson plans, videos, posters, teachers guides, and student guides to U.S. classrooms. The best review of such corporate-sponsored educational materials appears in the Consumers Union report "Captive Kids." It reports:

> "Sponsored educational materials often are welcomed into the classroom because they help teachers augment their supply of teaching materials. Those that contain no commercial messages and offer complete, unbiased explorations of their subject matter can be worthwhile. But, unfortunately, these materials often contain outright plugs for a company or its product, or worse, biased information."[1]

Ironically, those involved in the attack on environmental education argue that schools are teaching biased and inaccurate lessons. But as the examples below clearly show, their funders—corporate polluters—are engaged in trying to greenwash students by sending public relations materials to schools under the guise of curriculum.

Shell Oil's Classroom Program: "Fueling America's Future"

Shell's video, "Fueling America's Future," features Shell logos flashing on-screen throughout the program, in clear violation of national guidelines for educational materials for schools.[2] The video shows teenagers getting back to nature by driving there in a jeep and refueling their car. Shell sends this video—which shows filling up one's gas tank as a way to be an environmentalist—to schools.

At the same time, Shell is involved in the attack on environmental education through its funding of the Heritage Foundation. Edwin Feulner, Jr., Heritage Foundation's president, is also secretary of Aequus Institute, which shares a residence with and funds Michael Sanera's Claremont Institute. Sanera, who appears at the center of much of the false grassroots movement against environmental education nationally, was a local leader in repealing the environmental education mandate in Arizona. Shell's support of these efforts and greenwashing videos might seem bad enough. But even worse is the real environmental

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[1] Charlotte Baecher and Anita Holmes, *Captive Kids: A Report on Commercial Pressures on Kids at School*, Zillions: For Kids from Consumer Reports, 1995, 3.

[2] Alex Molnar, "Milwaukee Principles for Corporate Involvement in Schools," from *Giving Kids The Business: The Commercialization of America's Schools*, 185. See Appendix for a full copy of the guidelines.

problem they are trying to cover up through all this activity—especially human rights abuses, including torture and murder in Nigeria to get oil for gasoline. Shell has recently acknowledged paying the military in Nigeria[3]—a fact it denied for two years. According to reports, among those paid by Shell was Lieutenant Colonel P. Okuntimo, who was involved in the torture of environmental leader Ken Saro-Wiwa.[4] At the same time, according to a *Washington Post* report, Shell is involved in a group of large oil companies who, along with the Nigerian government, are spending large sums of money on lobbying and public relations efforts to stop the US. from imposing sanctions because of the human rights abuses.[5]

Chevron: "EcoSpeak: Coming To An Understanding, The Greenhouse Effect" — Instructional Video and Teacher's Guide

According to a review by a Los Angeles County teacher who received these materials in the mail, Chevron's teacher's guide and video stress the controversy over global warming without revealing that the majority of scientists agree that global warming is a significant environmental problem.[6] The video suggests only the most simplistic "solutions" to the problem: drive less, walk and bike, or plant trees.[7] In a transparent public relations move, Chevron wants students and teachers to believe that there is much greater disagreement on the problem of global warming than actually exists. However, Chevron engages in this effort at the expense of education.

Through activities such as looking for carbon dioxide near plants, in their own breath, and near a burning candle, the Chevron materials give the impression that there is no difference between carbon dioxide emissions from these activities and from the worldwide use of automobiles. In the teacher's guide, the only experiment even using a car is only tangential in its relation to global warming. In the guide, a vehicle is used as a representation of the greenhouse effect on Earth—i.e., how a car with a dark screen in its windshield creates more solar radiation. It accurately reports that students should be told, "We are not able to open and close the atmosphere to regulate the temperature like we can with the windows of a car."[8] No

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[3] Andrew Rowell, "Shell Cracks, Petroleum Company Acknowledges Payments to Nigeria's Murderous Military," *The Village Voice*, 17 December 1996.

[4] Rowell.

[5] Glenn Frankel, "Nigeria Mixes Oil and Money: A Potent Formula Keeps US, Sanctions at Bay," *The Washington Post*, 24 November 1996.

[6] The "debate" on global warming has been characterized as follows. "On the one hand, the vast majority of the world's climatologists warn that we face a potentially calamitous increase in the earth's temperature... On the other hand, fewer than a dozen scientists, many of them on the payroll of coal and energy companies, say not to worry." Paul Rauber, *Sierra*, September 1996, Vol. 81, No. 5, 20.

[7] Linda Roche, teacher evaluation of the Chevron video and guide, 1996.

[8] Chevron, "Ecospeak: Coming to An Understanding, The Greenhouse Effect," Teacher's Guide, 8.

other information regarding one of the main reasons for global warming—driving cars—is presented in the teaching guide.

Simultaneously, Chevron is involved in the attack on environmental education through its funding of the Heritage Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute, and the Reason Foundation. The Reason Foundation has published such articles as Thomas Harvey Hold's "Growing Up Green: Are Schools Turning our Kids into Eco-activists?"

Dow Chemical's "Chem-TV" and "Chemapalooza"

Dow Chemical's instructional videos feature teenagers dancing and singing about how wonderful it is that our world is made up of chemicals. The videos are a bad imitation of a music-video-meets-quiz-show format, trying to present chemicals as both natural and cool. While it is true that many chemical compounds occur naturally and surround us in our everyday lives, Dow's in-school videos fail to make basic distinctions, such as between the chemical compounds that make up chlorine bleach and the ones that make up drinking water. Dow gives equal value to each and in doing so is running a public relations effort at changing negative public perception of the term "chemical compound." Public sentiment, however, probably comes from the fact that many chemical compounds that are not safe have managed to create large toxic messes that cost millions in public funds to clean up. Dow—the creator of such chemicals as DDT, Agent Orange, chlorine, dioxin, and Napalm[9]—should know by now that not all chemicals come from nature and not all of them should surround us in our everyday lives.

Dow is linked to the attack on environmental education through its support of such groups as the Heritage Foundation and the Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI), which was involved in the publication of *Facts, not Fear* and is a member of the Environmental Education Working Group. Jonathan Adler of CEI is one of the principle figures in the attack on environmental education.

Amoco and the American Plastics Council: "Our Busy, Busy Planet"

"Our Busy, Busy Planet," a video from the American Plastics Council, features a teen-age boy who learns that plastics are the ideal material for packaging and many other uses. This video tell teachers and students that the more plastics they use, the more energy and resources they will save. The video also teaches that all types of plastics are readily recyclable. Throughout the program, cartoon plastic products dance across the screen. At the end, the teenage boy says: "Excellent! Plastics are cool stuff!"

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[9] Jed Greer and Kenny Bruno, *Greenwash: The Reality Behind Corporate Environmentalism*, Third World Network, Penang, 71-74, 1996.

What the video doesn't report that it's better to minimize use of plastics and other types of packaging. It also doesn't mention the problems of plastic "recycling," including the practice of dumping plastics and toxic byproducts from plastics manufacturing and incineration in developing countries.[10]

Amoco is involved in the attack on environmental education through active membership in the American Plastics Council. Amoco's Web site features a link to the American Plastics Council, which offers teacher guides and other greenwashing materials. Amoco is also one of the most significant funders of organizations that house individuals involved in the attack on environmental education. Amoco funds American Enterprise Institute, the Competitive Enterprise Institute, the Heritage Foundation, the Political Economy Research Center, the Reason Foundation, and Resources for the Future.

[10] Ann Leonard, "Dumping Pepsi's Plastic," *Multinational Monitor*, September 1994. Available April 2, 1997 on Netscape: http://essential.org/monitor

Part 4.

Campaign Financing and Environmental Education: Who's Funding the Decision-Makers?

Part 4.
Campaign Financing and Environmental Education: Who's Funding the Decision-Makers?

As the United States considers the issue of campaign finance reform, the momentum to pass such legislation is beginning to grow. As researchers, we are aware that campaign financing affects every decision that is made nationally as well as locally, and often the two influence each other. The authors of this report feel that because attacks on environmental education are made by individuals who want to influence both local and national policy, we ought to follow the trail all the way to the top—to the Congressional decision-makers involved in funding environmental education. Even if there is no grassroots movement to overturn environmental education, our research clearly shows that there is a well-funded minority committed to that goal. We believe that any similarities in campaign funding and funding of the organizations involved in the attack are important and should become publicly known.

According to numerous public sources interviewed for this report, the fate of national financing for environmental education will fall into the hands of the individuals listed in the list below. We took each individual's campaign finance record—available through the Federal Election Commission Web site at http://www.tray.com/fecinfo—and searched it for corporate ties to the attack on environmental education. (See Appendix for list of campaign funders.) While one cannot draw conclusive evidence as to how financing impacts any legislation from such an endeavor, the influence of money on our political system is important and noteworthy. The list below, Campaign Financing and Environmental Education, is the result of our research.

Campaign Financing and Environmental Education : Funding of the House Committee on Education and the Workforce

Majority: Republicans/25 Members

Rep. William (Bill) Goodling, PA	$0
Rep. Thomas E. Petri, WI	$21,000
Rep. Marge Roukema, NJ	$10,000
Rep. Harris W. Fawell, IL	$9,400
Rep. Cass Ballenger, NC	$19,500
Rep. Bill Barrett, NE	$13,500
Rep. Peter Hoekstra, MI	$500

Rep. Howard P. "Buck" McKeon, CA	$23,250
Rep. Michael N. Castle, DE	$13,500
Rep. Sam Johnson, TX	$29,150
Rep. James M. Talent, MI	$8,000
Rep. James C. Greenwood, PA	$500
Rep. Joe Knollenberg, MI	$18,800
Rep. Frank Riggs, CA	$56,750
Rep. Lindsey O. Graham, SC	$37,750
Rep. Mark E. Souder, IN	$19,500
Rep. David M. McIntosh, IN	$68,150
Rep. Charlie Norwood, GA	$76,750
Rep. Ron Paul, TX	$18,000
Rep. Bob Schaffer, CO	$13,950
Rep. John E. Peterson, PA	$26,450
Rep. Fred Upton, MI	$31,800
Rep. Nathan Deal, GA	$54,200
Rep. Van Hilleary, TN	$2,900
Rep. Joe Scarborough, FL	$24,400
Total Majority PAC Donations:	**$597,700**

Minority/Democrats: 20 members

Rep. William (Bill) Clay, Missouri	$4,450
Rep. George Miller, CA	$6,500
Rep. Dale E. Kildee, MI	$24,600
Rep. Matthew G. Martinez, CA	$1,000
Rep. Major R. Owens, NY	$500
Rep. Donald M. Payne, NJ	$4,000
Rep. Patsy T. Mink, HI	$1,200
Rep. Robert E. Andrews, NJ	$10,000
Rep. Timothy J. Roemer, IN	$19,750
Rep. Robert C. (Bobby) Scott, VA	$10,500
Rep. Lynn Woolsey, CA	$3,500
Rep. Carlos A. Romero-Barceló, PR	$500
Rep. Chaka Fattah, PA	$8,000
Rep. Ruben Hinojosa, TX	$10,000

Rep. Carolyn McCarthy, NY	$0
Rep. John Tierney, MA	$2,000
Rep. Ron Kind, WI	$1,000
Rep. Loretta Sanchez, CA	$0
Rep. Harold E. Ford, Jr., TN	$2,000
Rep. Dennis J. Kucinich, OH	$0

Total Minority PAC Donations: $109,500

Grand Total PAC Donations From Groups Attacking Environmental Education: $707,200

Appendix

Appendix

Background on *Facts, not Fear*'s Academic and Scientific Advisory Panel

The names in bold are those who have links to corporate polluters, right-wing groups, and/or the attack on environmental education.

Sallie Baliunas, senior scientist, George C. Marshall Institute
Chapter 14: Sorting out ozone
Baliunas has dismissed global warming and ozone depletion as hype and faulty science. She contributed to the Heartland Institute's "Earth Day '96." She was previously a Wesson fellow at the Hoover Institution.[1]

Robert Balling, director, Office of Climatology, Arizona State University
Chapter 13: A hotter planet?
Balling's book, *The Heated Debate: Greenhouse Predictions Versus Climate Reality*, was published by the Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy. He contributed to a report on climate change published by the Western Fuel Association, which represents industries that burn fossil fuels and contribute to the greenhouse effect.[2]

Mikhail S. Bernstam, senior research fellow, Hoover Institution
Chapter 12: The air we breathe
Bernstam wrote a paper published by the right-wing think tank The Institute of Economic Affairs in 1991, which was described in *Chemistry and Industry* as follows:

> [The paper] claims that "elaborate international controls," whether regulations or taxes, will lead only to "economic stagnation." [Bernstam] argues that the environment is best served through continuous economic growth... It is essential to avoid market regulation, he argues with a fit of almost religious fervor: "The invisible hand stretches out over two centuries and takes care of this beneficent outcome."[3]

Sandra Brown, professor of forest ecology, University of Illinois - Champaign/Urbana
Chapter 9: The rain forest—one hundred acres a minute?

David G. Cameron, former professor of biology and genetics, Montana State University
Chapter 11: Where have all the species gone?

Robert W. Crandall, senior fellow in economic studies, The Brookings Institution
Chapter 12: The air we breathe

Matthew Cronin, senior research biologist, LGA Alaska Research Associates, Inc.
Chapter 11: Where have all the species gone?

Nicholas Eberstadt, visiting scholar, American Enterprise Institute, and visiting fellow, Harvard Center for Population Studies
Chapter 6: Will billions starve?
Eberstadt is a member of the George C. Marshall Institute's Independent Commission on Environmental Education, and contributed to the Competitive Enterprise Institute's *The True State of the Planet*.

Indur M. Golkany, manager, Science and Engineering Office of Policy Analysis, Department of the Interior
Chapter 16: Not a drop to drink?
Golkany contributed to the Competitive Enterprise Institute's book *The True State of the Planet*. He has argued that "Anything which retards economic growth also retards ultimate environmental clean-up."[4]

Gordon W. Gribble, professor of chemistry, Dartmouth College
Chapter 17: Don't eat that apple!
Contributed to the Heartland Institute's "Earth Day '96." Is a member of The Advancement of Sound Science Coalition (TASCC), which was listed as a resource in the Heartland Institute's "Earth Day '96," and of which Fred Seitz is an advisory board member. Gribble attacked *Our Stolen Future*, which looks at the potential ramifications of endocrine-disrupting chemicals, as containing "a little science and much science fiction."[5] In 1995, Gribble spoke at the conference of a property-rights group in Maine. A news article about the conference said the attendees "railed against bureaucrats, environmentalists, animal rights activists, and New Age devotees," and that Gribble claimed that "there is no proof that dioxin causes anything more than acne."[6]

James Gwartney, professor of economics, Florida State University
Chapter 7: Natural resources—on their way out?

M.B. Hocking, professor of chemistry, University of Victoria
Chapter 18: A garbage crisis? and Chapter 19: The recycling myth
Previously worked for Dow Chemical and the Pulp and Paper Research Institute of Canada. Advocates use of plastic foam over paper for disposable cups. His research is featured in the chapter 18 of *Facts, not Fear*.

Patricia Irving, manager, Environmental Science Department, Pacific Northwest Laboratory
Chapter 15: Acid rain

Ronald N. Johnson, professor of economics, Montana State University
Chapter 8: Are our forest dying?

J. Laurence Kulp, affiliate professor of civil engineering, University of Washington
Chapter 15: Acid rain
Kulp was director of research on the National Acid Precipitation Assessment Program (NAPAP), a government study undertaken by the Reagan administration. He resigned amid controversy after creating an uproar with his executive summary of the interim assessment, which was "widely criticized as a misleading attempt to downplay the severity of acid rain effects."[7] Formerly worked as vice president for research and development at Weyerhauser Company.

Dean Leuck, assistant professor of agricultural and resource economics, North Carolina State University
Chapter 10: American wildlife—on the edge?
Leuck has received support for his research on wildlife from the Earhart Foundation through the Political Economy Research Center (PERC). The Earhart Foundation also funded *Facts, not Fear.*

Gary Libecap, professor of economics and law, University of Arizona
Chapter 8: Are our forests dying?

Ariel E. Lugo, director, International Institute of Tropical Forestry, U.S. Forest Service
Chapter 9: The rain forest—one hundred acres a minute?

Douglas W. MacCleery, assistant director, Timber Management, U.S. Forest Service
Chapter 9: Are our forests dying?
As the deputy assistant secretary of agriculture for natural resources and the environment under Reagan, he was identified by the *Washington Post* as a "sometimes-controversial political appointee," whom many regarded as a "partisan official" with ties to industry.[8] MacCleery previously worked for the pro-industry National Forest Products Association.

Roger E. Meiners, professor of economics and law, University of Texas-Arlington
Chapter 16: Not a drop to drink?
Meiners is co-author with Bruce Yandle (see below) of *Taking the Environment Seriously*, part of PERC's Political Economy Forum Series. Meiners and Yandle also wrote a May 1996 article for *USA Today* entitled "Get the Government out of Environmental Control."

Thomas Poleman, professor of international food economics, Cornell University
Chapter 6: Will billions starve?

William Rathje, professor of anthropology, University of Arizona
Chapter 18: A garbage crisis? and Chapter 19: The recycling myth
Rathje's research is featured in Chapter 18 of *Facts, not Fear.*

Joseph D. Rosen, professor of food chemistry, Cook College, Rutgers University
Chapter 17: Don't eat that apple!

Steven Safe, distinguished professor of veterinary physiology and pharmacology, Texas A&M University
Chapter 17: Don't eat that apple!
Like Gordon Gribble, Safe is a member of TASSC, which was listed as a resource in the Heartland Institute's "Earth Day '96," and attacked *Our Stolen Future.*[9]

Rodger Sedjo, senior fellow, Resources for the Future
Chapter 9: The rain forest—one hundred acres a minute?
Sedjo is a member of the Marshall Institute's Independent Commission on Environmental Education and contributed to the Competitive Enterprise Institute's *The True State of the Planet.*

Fred Seitz, chair, board of directors, George C. Marshall Institute, and president emeritus, Rockefeller University
Seitz is a member of the Marshall Institute's Independent Commission on Environmental Education. He is also a board member of The Advancement of Sound Science Coalition (TASCC), which was listed as a resource in the Heartland Institute's "Earth Day '96" and also has a campaign called "Facts, Not Fear."[10]

Roy W. Spencer, engineer, National Aeronautics and Space Administration
Chapter 13: A hotter planet?

Donald H. Stedman, Phillipson-Brainerd Professor of Chemistry, University of Denver
Chapter 12: The air we breathe and Chapter 14: Sorting out ozone
Stedman was featured in a 1992 article for the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review*, entitled "Donald Stedman and the EPA's Sins of Emission." He has also been involved in TASSC (see Seitz above), and previously worked for Ford Motor Company.[11]

Murray Weidenbaum, chairman, Center for the Study of American Business and professor of economics, Washington University (St. Louis, Missouri)
Chapter 7: Natural resources—on the way out?
The Center for the Study of American Business was founded with a donation from John M. Olin, former chairman of Olin Industries, a munitions manufacturer.[12] The John M. Olin Foundation is now one of the largest funders of the right-wing movement. CSAB published Jo Kwong's 1995 article, "Environmental Education: Getting Beyond Advocacy."

John ("Jack") Wenders, professor of economics, University of Idaho
Chapter 10: American wildlife—on the edge?
Wenders has won the A.D. Davis Free Enterprise Award (at $15,800, this is the largest annual cash award for faculty at the University of Idaho) three times since 1984.[13]

Clark Wiseman, professor of economics, Gonzaga University
Chapter 18: A garbage crisis? and Chapter 19: The recycling myth
Wiseman's writing has been published by the Cato Institute. He was cited by John Tierney in the controversial June 1996 New York Times Magazine piece, "Recycling is Garbage," which derided environmental education.

Bruce Yandle, professor of economics and legal studies, Clemson University
Chapter 16: Not a drop to drink?
Yandle and Meiners (see below) co-authored *Taking the Environment Seriously*, part of PERC's Political Economy Forum Series. Yandle and Meiners also wrote a May 1996 article for *USA Today* entitled "Get the Government out of Environmental Control."

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[1] *American Men and Women of Science*, R.R. Bowker, Reed Elsevier, Inc. 1995.
[2] Kurt Loft, "State of the Climate; A new report eases fears about global warming, but a fossil-fuel consortium behind it could be pushing an agenda with the greenhouse controversy," *The Tampa Tribune*, 10 June 1996, 4.
[3] Julian Rose, "The Wealth of Nations; Environment," *Chemistry and Industry*, 18 February 1991, 111.
[4] Book review of *A Moment on Earth: The Coming of Age of Environmental Optimism*, *National Review*, 29 May 1995, v. 47, no. 10, 59.
[5] "TASSC Scientists Comment on 'Our Stolen Future,'" *PR Newswire*, 13 March 1996.
[6] Andrew Kekacs, "Property Rights Group Convenes," *Bangor Daily News*, 1 May 1995.

[7] Leslie Roberts, "Fresh Look at Acid Rain," *Science*, 6 May 1988, v. 240, no. 4853, 715.
[8] Ward Sinclair, "Forest Chief in Political Thicket," *Washington Post*, 9 April 1987, A25.
[9] "TASSC Scientists Comment on 'Our Stolen Future,'" *PR Newswire*, 13 March 1996.
[10] "Science Watchdog Group Celebrates Third Anniversary with Renewed Commitment to Exposing Use of Junk Science," *PR Newswire*, 3 December 1996.
[11] "Science Watchdog Group Celebrates Third Anniversary with Renewed Commitment to Exposing Use of Junk Science," *PR Newswire*, 3 December 1996; and *American Men and Women of Science*, R.R. Bowker, Reed Elsevier, Inc. 1995
[12] Sara Savitt, ed., "Assault on Environmental Education," *A CLEAR View*, The Clearinghouse For Environmental Advocacy and Research, 27 January 1997, Vol. 4. No. 2.
[13] Michael Wickline, "UI Prof Wins Big Cash Award Again," *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, 16 March 1991, 6A.

Funders of Attack on EE (includes both corporate donors and other foundations)

Aequus Institute
Alcoa Foundation
American Farm Bureau Federation
American Freedom Coalition
American Mining Congress
American Motorcyclist Association
American Petroleum Institute
American Pulpwood Association
Ameritech Foundation
Amoco Foundation
Amway
Anheuser-Busch
Archer-Daniels-Midland Foundation
ARCO Foundation
Armstrong Foundation
Ashland Oil
Association of International Auto Manufacturers
AT&T Foundation
Banbury Fund
BankAmerica Foundation
Bechtel International
Benedum Foundation
Bodman Foundation
Boeing
Bristol-Meyers Squibb Foundation
BT Foundation
Buckner Charitable Residuary Trust
Burlington Northern Foundation
Carthage Foundation
Cato Institute
Charles C. Koch Charitable Foundation
Chemical Manufacturing Association
Chevron
Chrysler Corporation Fund
CIGNA Foundation
Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation
Coca-Cola Foods
Coors Foundation
CSX Corp.
David H. Koch Charitable Foundation
Detroit Farming Inc.
Dow Chemical
E. Rhodes & Leona B. Carpenter Foundation
Earhart Foundation
EBCO Corp.
Eli Lilly & Co. Foundation
Exxon
F.M. Kirby Foundation
Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy
Federation of Korean Industries
Ford Motor Company Fund
Fred A. Lennon Foundation
General Electric Foundation
General Dynamics
General Motors Foundation
GTE
Henry Salvatori Foundation
IBM
J. Howard Pew Freedom Trust
Jaquelin Hume Foundation
JM Foundation
John M. Olin Foundation
Koch Industries
Land Improvement Contractors of America
Liberty Fund
Lilly Endowment
Lockheed
Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation
Marigold Mining
McKenna Foundation
Mobil Oil
Monsanto
Motorola Foundation
Murdock Charitable Trust
National Cattlemen's Association
National Rifle Association
National Trappers Association
NBC
Pfizer Inc.
Philip M. McKenna Foundation
Philip Morris Companies
Phillips Petroleum
Precision Valve Corp.
Proctor & Gamble Fund
R.J. Reynolds Tobacco
Randolph Foundation
Reader's Digest
Rocky Mountain Oil and Gas Association
Sarah Scaife Foundation
Scaife Family Foundation
Shell Companies Foundation
Smith Richardson Foundation
Texaco Foundation
Toyota Motor Sales
Union Pacific
Unocal Foundation
Vernon K. Krieble Foundation
Weigand Foundation
Weyerhaeuser Company Foundation
William H. Donner Foundation
Xerox Foundation

From

Giving Kids the Business:

The Commercialization of America's Schools

by Alex Molnar

Milwaukee Principles for Corporate Involvement in the Schools*

School-business relationships based on sound principles can contribute to high quality education. However, compulsory attendance confers on educators an obligation to protect the welfare of their students and the integrity of the learning environment. Therefore, when working together, schools and businesses must ensure that educational values are not distorted in the process. Positive school-business relationships should be ethical and structured in accordance with all eight of the following principles:

1. Corporate involvement shall not require students to observe, listen to, or read commercial advertising.
2. Selling or providing access to a captive audience in the classroom for commercial purposes is exploitation and a violation of the public trust.
3. Since school property and time are publicly funded, selling or providing free access to advertising on school property outside the classroom involves ethical and legal issues that must be addressed.
4. Corporate involvement must support the goals and objectives of the schools. Curriculum and instruction are within the purview of educators.
5. Programs of corporate involvement must be structured to meet an identified education need, not a commercial motive, and must be evaluated for educational effectiveness by the school/district on an
6. Schools and educators should hold sponsored and donated materials to the same standards used for the selection and purchase of curriculum materials.
7. Corporate involvement programs should not limit the discretion of schools and teachers in the use of sponsored materials.
8. Sponsor recognition and corporate logos should be for identification rather than commercial purposes.

* These principles were developed at a meeting proposed by Alex Molnar and hosted by the School of Education, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, November 26-27, 1990.
They have been adopted by the following organizations:

- Action for Children's Television
- National Parent-Teachers Association
- American Association of School Administrators
- National Association of State Boards of Education
- National Council for the Social Studies
- National Education Association

They have been endorsed by the state superintendents of education in the following states: California, Georgia, Iowa, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nevada, Pennsylvania, South Carolina.

A Commercialism Walk-Through

This survey has been sent to you by the Center for Commercial-Free Public Education, home of the UNPLUG campaign. The Center is a national, non-profit coalition of youth, parents, teachers, and organizations working for equal, commercial-free public education. This survey provides a step-by-step guide to help you find and quantify commercialism in the schools where you work and where your children attend. It is available in a student-oriented version as well as this parent/teacher-oriented version.

Remember that the answers to the survey questions are all **public information**. You have the right to ask these questions, and people should be happy to give you the information that you cannot obtain by walking around the school and talking to other parents and teachers. Contact the school or school district administrative office, either by phone or in writing, for this information. If, in the course of answering these questions you acquire any official documents (such as budget statements, written policies on commercialism, etc.), please send them to us.

Your School, Your Business

1. What is the school's name, and where is it located?

2. Does your school district have an official policy about corporate sponsored materials? (For instance, does it use lesson plans, videos, books, television, or other educational materials developed/sponsored by companies, and sent to the teachers for free?) ❑ Yes ❑ No

3. If so, what is it?

4. Is your school "sponsored," or does your school have corporate partnership(s)? ❑ Yes ❑ No
   If so, with which companies? What are the terms of the sponsorship or partnership?

5. Do the corporate sponsors receive tax write-offs or tax exemptions for their contributions to the school? ❑ Yes ❑ No

Commercial Presence in Your School

1. Are there billboards outside your school? ❑ Yes ❑ No
   If so, how many? Who owns and operates them? When were they installed? What is being advertised?

2. Inside the school building(s), are there posters, signs, or other types of advertisements on hallway walls? ❑ Yes ❑ No If so, how many? What is being advertised?

3. Does your school rent out display cases to advertisers, or do advertisers "sponsor" the displays?
   ❑ Yes ❑ No If there are corporate-sponsored displays, what is the stated educational purpose of the display?

4. Are there advertisements or corporate logos displayed in the gym or on the football field?
   ❑ Yes ❑ No If so, how many? For what products or companies?

5. In the library, are there ads? Have corporations "donated" materials or equipment to the library?
   ❑ Yes ❑ No If so, what kind of materials? Estimate what percentage of the library materials were donated by corporations.

Workbooks, Videos, Brochures, & other Educational Materials

1. Does your school or school district have a **review board** to examine the curricular materials used in classes (i.e. books, filmstrips, videos, handouts, etc.)? ❑ Yes ❑ No Who sits on this board?

2. If so, does this review board certify **donated materials**? ❑ Yes ❑ No

3. Does the school principal certify donated materials? ❑ Yes ❑ No

4. Have any of the educational materials in your school been donated by corporations? ❑ Yes ❑ No How many? What are they? Which corporations have donated them?

5. Often, corporations will send materials directly to teachers, as supplementary materials. Ask around to find out if teachers in your school experience this, and if they have noticed an increase in such materials in the past five years.

6. How many of the teachers with whom you spoke have received classroom materials from corporations or groups that are backed by corporate money? How many teachers have seen such materials advertised in education magazines? How many teachers have used them?

7. If you are able to get extra copies of any of these materials, who makes them? Are there corporate logos or slogans displayed on the materials? Do they mention products made by the sponsoring corporation? Please describe. (Look especially in **health**, **science**, and **social studies/economics** classes. If you are able to get extra copies, please send them to us for our library of corporate-sponsored materials.)

8. If these videos, books, or other materials are made by corporations, do they offer a **balanced view** of their subject (in your opinion)? ❑ Yes ❑ No Explain.

Freebies, Contests, & Giveaways

1. Does your school provide students with **book covers** for textbooks? ❑ Yes ❑ No If so, do these book covers contain advertisements?

2. Does your school (or do classes) participate in any **contests**, **programs**, or **projects** in which students sell or buy products in exchange for corporate donations? ❑ Yes ❑ No If so, what are they? Is participation voluntary? ❑ Yes ❑ No

3. What is the monetary value of the products your school got in exchange for its participation in any corporate contests or projects? (In other word, how much did students, parents, and teachers have to buy or sell in exchange for what they receive?

4. Does your school board have a policy about corporate-sponsored contests or projects?

Channel One... or Channel Zero?

1. Does your school show Channel One? ❑ Yes ❑ No

2. If so, how do students and teachers generally feel about Channel One?

3. What commercials are being shown? Do you think they affect students?

4. For how long has your school had a contract with Channel One?

Getting to Know Your School

These questions help to paint a picture of what the school you've surveyed looks like financially. This is important because research has found that corporation often target schools in lower-income communities. Are there any other details that you think are important in giving us an idea of your school's financial situation? For example, what is the neighborhood around the school like? Can you think of any stories or incidents that illustrate the involvement of corporations in the school?

1. How many students attend? _____

2. How much money per student does your school receive from the state? _____

3. Is this more or less money per student than your school received five years ago? _____

4. How many students per class, on average, does your school have? _____

5. How much money, if any, do teachers in your school receive to buy supplementary classroom materials (paper, markers, posters, etc.)? _____

6. What is the general operating budget for your school district? _____

7. Anything else you'd like to tell us?

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Phone _____

Fax &/or email _____

I am a: ❑ Student ❑ Parent ❑ Teacher ❑ Other

School name _____

The Center for Commercial-Free Public Education
360 Grand Ave. #385, Oakland, CA 94610
(510) 268-1100, fax (510) 268-1277
email: unplug@igc.org

About the Center...

At the Center for Commercial-Free Public Education, we believe that every young person has the right to an excellent, equal, and democratic education. We also believe that commercialism in schools—in the form of advertising, corporate-sponsored curricular materials, or programs like Channel One—poses a grave threat to the principles of public education.

Community and business support of our schools is important. But corporations' commercial involvement in schools results in funding cuts and compromised education. Most large corporations, despite their claims to the contrary, are more concerned about profits than about cash-strapped schools. By "donating" commercialized products to public schools, they make money in two ways: free advertising for their products and brand names, *and* tax deductions.

This Commercialism Walk-Through Survey can help you work for justice and quality education by helping you to assess the level of commercialism in your school. This information will also help the Center in working for commercial-free classrooms all across the country.

The Center works to encourage community involvement and active citizenship, and we hope that you will support our work by becoming a member.

Membership is $7 for students, $15 for parents, teachers, and other community members, and $30 for organizations. Please join us.

The Center for Commercial-Free Public Education is a 501(c)(3).

About The Center

The Center for Commercial-Free Public Education, home of the UNPLUG campaign against Channel One, is best known for its pioneering efforts to combine high-level campaigning and grassroots organizing against classroom commercialism.

Along with our work against Channel One, the Center tracks the presence of corporate-sponsored educational materials (SEMs) in schools. SEMs, one of the four main forms of classroom commercialism, come from corporations and trade associations—often sent free of charge directly to teachers—and take the form of videos, posters, workbooks, multimedia teaching kits, and prepared lesson plans. In "Captive Kids," the most comprehensive study of classroom commercialism to date, Consumers Union found that while some SEMs offer complete, unbiased instruction and can be a valuable resource for teachers, "unfortunately, these materials often contain outright plugs for a company or its product, or worse, biased information."[1]

In 1996, the Center's *Consumers or Citizens?* program published its first report, which examined SEMs on environmental subject matter. This report documented the finding that many corporations and industry front groups are engaging in greenwashing in the classroom: so-called "environmental education" classroom materials are usually heavily biased toward the industry perspective, make little or no mention of corporations' contributions to environmental degradation, and seek to maintain the prevalent commercial ethic that "you are what you buy."

The Center's *Consumer's or Citizens?* program encourages you to get involved in your school. A commercialism walk-through is included with this report to help you look for and quantify commercialism at your school. At the heart of The Center is community involvement and active citizens—we encourage you to become a part.

Please, join us.
Consumers or Citizens?
The Center for Commercial-Free Public Education
360 Grand Ave. #385
Oakland, CA 94610

Membership is $7 for students, $15 for parents or teachers, and $30 for organizations. Additional contributions are appreciated.

The Center for Commercial-Free Public Education is a 501 (c)(3).

[1] "Captive Kids: Commercial Pressures on Kids at School," prepared for Zillions: for Kids from Consumer Reports, Consumers Union of the United States, Inc., 1995, 3.

The work of the Center for Commercial-Free Public Education has been made possible through the generous support of our members, the sale of our materials, individual donors, and foundations.

Consumers or Citizens?
a project of
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